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GEORGE WASHINGTON

From a Painting  
by George M. Schmidt



# HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NATION



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VOLUME II

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1685—1757

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Peace had continued for some time between the Five Nations and the French, but now the former were suspicious of the expeditions of La Salle. James II. had instructed Dongan, the Catholic governor of New York, to conciliate the French, to influence the Mohawks to receive Jesuit missionaries, and to quietly introduce the Catholic religion into the colony. But Dongan felt more interest in the fur trade, which the French seemed to be monopolizing, than in Jesuit missions among the Mohawks, and he rather encouraged the latter in their hostility. An act of treachery increased this feeling. Some of their chiefs, who were enticed to enter Fort Frontenac, were seized and forcibly carried to France, and there made slaves.

When the indignant people of England drove the bigoted James from his throne and invited William of Orange to fill it, Louis XI. took up the quarrel in behalf of James, or of legitimacy, as he termed it.

He believed in the divine right of kings to rule, and denied the right of a people to change their form of government. Louis had for years greatly abused his power, and all Europe had suffered from his rapacity. Religious feeling exerted its influence in giving character to the war, and Protestant Holland joined heart and hand with Protestant England in opposing Catholic France.

Though the colonies were thus involved in war by the mother countries, they had different ends in view. The New Englanders had an eye to the fisheries and the protection of their northern frontiers; the French wished to extend their influence over the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and to monopolize the fisheries as well as the fur trade. The latter object could be obtained only by the aid of the Indians, and they were untiring in their efforts to make them friends. They could never conciliate the Mohawks, nor induce them to join in an invasion of New York. On the contrary, fifteen hundred of them suddenly appeared before Montreal, and in a few days captured that place, and committed horrible outrages upon the people.

Thus stood matters when Frontenac, for the second time, appeared as governor of New France. To make the savages respect him as a warrior, he set on foot a series of incursions against the English colonies. The eastern Indians were incited to attack Dover in New Hampshire;—incited by the French, and also by a cherished desire for revenge. There, at the head of the garrison, was that Major Waldron who, thirteen years before, during King Philip's war, had treacherously seized two hundred of their friends, who came to him to treat of peace. He had proposed to these unsuspecting Indians a mock fight by way of entertainment; when their guns were all discharged he made them prisoners and sent them to



Boston. Some of them were hanged, and others sold into slavery. The Indians in their turn employed stratagem and treachery. Two squaws came to Dover; they asked of the aged Waldron, now fourscore, a night's lodging. In the night they arose, unbarred the gates, and let in their friends; who lay in ambush. Their hour for vengeance had come; they made the pangs of death as bitter as possible to the brave old Waldron; his white hairs claimed from them no pity. In derision, they placed him in a chair on a table, and scored his body with gashes equal in number to their friends he had betrayed; they jeeringly asked him, "Who will judge Indians now? Who will hang our brothers? Will the pale-faced Waldron give us life for life?"<sup>1</sup> They burned all the houses, murdered nearly half the inhabitants, and carried the remainder into captivity.

This was only the beginning of a series of horrors inflicted upon the frontier towns. The inhabitants of Schenectady, as they slept in fancied security, were startled at midnight by the terrible war-whoops of the savage—the harbinger of untold horrors. The enemy found easy access, as the gates of the palisades were open. The houses were set on fire, more than sixty persons were killed, and many helpless women and children were carried into captivity. A few escaped and fled half clad through the snow to Albany. This attack was made by a party of French and Indians from Montreal, who had toiled for twenty-two days through the snows of winter, breaking the track with snow shoes, and using, when they could, the frozen streams as a pathway. At Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, and at Casco, similar scenes were enacted.

Such were the means the inhuman Frontenac, now almost fourscore, took to inspire terror in the minds

<sup>1</sup>New England History, C. W. Elliott.

of the English colonists, and to acquire the name of a great warrior among the Indians,—they would follow none but a successful leader. Among the early Jesuit missionaries who taught the Indians of New France, there were undoubtedly many good men. The priests of that generation had passed away, and others had taken their places; these incited the recently converted savage, not to practice Christian charity and love, but to pillage and murder the heretical English.

King William was busy in maintaining his own cause in England, and left the colonists to defend themselves. Massachusetts proposed that they should combine, and remove the cause of their trouble by conquering Canada. Commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York met to deliberate on what course to pursue. They resolved to invade that province from New York by way of Lake Champlain, and from Massachusetts by way of the St. Lawrence. The expedition from New York failed. Colonel Peter Schuyler led the advance with a company of Mohawks, but the ever-watchful Frontenac was prepared; his Indian allies flocked in crowds to aid him in defending Montreal. The Mohawks were repulsed and could not recover their position, as the army sent to support them was compelled to stop short; the small-pox broke out among the soldiers, and they were in want of provisions.

Meantime, the fleet of thirty-two vessels, and two thousand men, which had sailed from Boston, was endeavoring to find its way up the St. Lawrence. It was under the command of Sir William Phipps, to whose incompetency may be attributed the failure of the enterprise. An Indian runner cut across the woods from Piscataqua, and in twelve days brought the news of the intended attack to the French. Frontenac hastened to Quebec, where he arrived three

days before the fleet. When it came in sight he was prepared to make a vigorous defense. A party landed, but after some skirmishing the enterprise was abandoned. While returning, the men suffered much from sickness, and storms disabled the fleet. The disappointment of the people of Massachusetts was very great; many lives had been lost, and the colony was laden with debt.

The Eastern Indians, in the mean time, were held in check by Captain Church, celebrated in King Philip's war. At one time, he so far forgot himself as to put to death his prisoners, some of whom were women and children. Such cruelty was inexcusable; and it was avenged by the savages with tenfold fury. Nearly all the settlements of what is now Maine were destroyed or abandoned. The enemy were continually prowling around the farms, watching an opportunity to shoot the men at their work. All went armed, and even the women learned to handle effectively the musket and the rifle. It was a great inducement for the Indians to go on these marauding expeditions, because they could sell for slaves to the French of Canada the women and children they took prisoners.

Peace was at length made with the Abenakis, or Eastern Indians, and there was a lull in the storm of desolation. It lasted but a year, the Indians broke the treaty. They were incited to this by their teachers, two Jesuits, Thury and Bigot, who even took pride in their atrocious work.

Heroic deeds were performed by men and women. A small band of Indians attacked the house of a farmer named Dustin, near Haverhill. When in the fields he heard the war-whoop and the cry of distress. He hastened to the rescue, met his children, and threw himself between them and their pursuers, whom he held at bay by well-directed shots till the



children were in a place of safety. His house was burned; a child only a few days old was dashed against a tree, and his wife, Hannah Dustin, and her nurse, were carried away captive. A toilsome march brought them to an island in the Merrimac, just above Concord, where their captors lived. There Mrs. Dustin, with the nurse and a boy, also a captive, planned an escape. She wished revenge, as well as to be secure from pursuit. The Indians, twelve in number, were asleep. She arose, assigned to each of her companions whom to strike; their hands were steady and their hearts firm; they struck for their lives. Ten Indians were killed, one woman was wounded, and a child was purposely saved. The heroic woman wished to preserve a trophy of the deed, and she scalped the dead. Then in a canoe the three floated down the Merrimac to Haverhill, much to the astonishment of their friends, who had given them up for lost. Such were the toils and sufferings and such the heroism of the mothers in those days.

The friendly Mohawks had intimated to the inhabitants of Deerfield, in the valley of the Connecticut, that the enemy was plotting their destruction. The anxiety of the people was very great, and they resolved during the winter to keep a strict watch; sentinels were placed every night.

On an intensely cold night in February a company of two hundred Frenchmen, and one hundred and forty Indians, lay in ambush, waiting a favorable moment to spring upon their victims. Under the command of Hertel de Rouville, they had come all the way from Canada, on the crust of a deep snow, with the aid of snow shoes. The sentinels, unconscious of danger, retired at dawn of day. The snow had drifted as high as the palisades, thus enabling the party to pass within the enclosure, which consisted of twenty acres. The terrible war-cry startled

the inhabitants, the houses were set on fire, and forty-seven persons were ruthlessly murdered; one hundred and twelve were taken captive, among whom were the minister Williams, his wife, and five children. No pen can describe the sufferings of the captives on that dreary winter's march, driven, as they were, by relentless Frenchmen and savages. Eunice Williams, the wife, drew consolation from her Bible, which she was permitted to read when the party stopped for the night. Her strength soon failed; her husband cheered her by pointing to the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." "The mother's heart rose to her lips as she commended her five captive children, under God, to their father's care, and then one blow of the tomahawk ended her sorrows." This family, with the exception of one daughter, seven years old, were afterward ransomed, and returned home.

Many years after this, there appeared at Deerfield a white woman wearing the Indian garb; she was the lost daughter of Eunice Williams, and now a Catholic, and the wife of an Indian chief. No entreaties could influence her to remain with her civilized relatives; she chose to return and end her days with her own children.

Humanity shudders at the recital of the horrors that marked those days of savage warfare. Some of the Indians even refused to engage any more in thus murdering the English colonists; but the infamous Hertel, with the approbation of Vaudreuil, then governor of Canada, induced a party to accompany him on a foray. Why repeat the story of the fiendish work, by which the little village of Haverhill, containing about thirty log cabins, was burned, and all the inhabitants either murdered or taken captive. "My heart swells with indignation," wrote Colonel Peter Schuvler of New York, to Vaudreuil, "when I

think that a war between Christian princes, is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery; I hold it my duty toward God and my neighbor, to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties." This reproof was unheeded; the cruelties continued.

Under the feelings excited by such outrages, can we think it strange that the colonists resolved to hunt the Indians like wild beasts, and offered a bounty for their scalps? or that the hostility against the French Jesuit should have thrown suspicion upon the Catholic of Maryland who about this time was disfranchised? or that even in liberal Rhode Island, he should have been deprived of the privilege of becoming a freeman?

With renewed energy the French began to press forward their great design of uniting, by means of trading posts and missions, the region of the Lakes and the valley of the Mississippi. The Spaniards had possession of the territory on the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, while they claimed the entire regions lying around that expanse of water.

The energetic mind of Lemoine d'Ibberville conceived a plan for planting a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. He was a native of Canada, and had, on many occasions, distinguished himself by his talents and great courage. Hopes were entertained of his success. The expedition, consisting of four vessels and nearly two hundred colonists, among whom were some women and children, sailed from Canada for the mouth of the Mississippi. D'Ibberville entered the Gulf and approached the north shore, landed at the mouth of the river Pascagoula, and with two barges and forty-eight men went to seek the great river. He found it by following up a current of muddy waters, in which were many floating trees. He passed up the stream to the mouth of



Red River, where he was surprised to receive a letter dated fourteen years before. It was from Tonti; he had left it with the Indians for La Salle; they had preserved it carefully, and gave it to the first Frenchman who visited them.

As the shores of the Mississippi in that region are marshy, it was thought best to form a settlement on the Gulf at the mouth of the Pascagoula. This was the first colony planted within the limits of the present state of Mississippi. D'Ibberville sailed for France to obtain supplies and more colonists, leaving one of his brothers, Cauville, to act as governor, and the other, Bienville, to engage in exploring the country and river.

Some fifty miles up the Mississippi Bienville met an English ship sent on the same errand. Seventy years before, Charles I. had given to Sir Robert Heath a grant of Carolina, which as usual was to extend to the Pacific. This worthless grant, Coxe, a London physician, had purchased, and to him belonged this vessel.

From the time of La Salle the Jesuits had been busy ingratiating themselves with the tribes along the shores of the Mississippi, and under their direction trading posts were established, at various points, to the mouth of the Illinois, and up that river to the Lakes.

The following year D'Ibberville returned with two ships and sixty colonists, and the aged Tonti had just arrived from the Illinois. Availing himself of his counsel, D'Ibberville ascended the river four hundred miles, and on a bluff built a fort, which, in honor of the Duchess of Pontchartrain, was called Rosalie. These settlements languished for twenty years; the colonists were mere hirelings, unfitted for their work. The whole number of emigrants for ten years did not exceed two hundred persons. Instead of cultivat-

ing the soil, and making their homes comfortable, many went to the far west seeking for gold, and others to the northwest on the same errand, while fevers and other diseases were doing the work of death. Meanwhile Mobile became the centre of French influence in the south.

Once more a special effort was made to occupy the territory, and a monopoly of trade was granted to Arthur Crozart, who was to send every year two ships laden with merchandise and emigrants, and also a cargo of slaves from Africa. The French government was to appropriate annually about ten thousand dollars to defray the expense of forts and necessary protection.

A trading house was established up the Red River at Natchitoches, and one up the Alabama near the site of Montgomery; Fort Rosalie became a centre of trade, and the germ of the present city of Natchez—the oldest town on the Mississippi.

Bienville put the convicts to work on a can-brake to remove the trees and shrubs “from a savage and desert place”, and build a few huts. Such were the feeble beginnings of New Orleans, which it was prophesied would yet become “a rich city, the metropolis of a great colony.” Still the colony did not prosper; instead of obtaining their supplies from that fruitful region, they were dependent on France and St. Domingo. Labor was irksome to the convicts and vagabonds, and the overflowings of the river, and the unhealthiness of the climate retarded progress. The chief hope for labor was based on the importation of negroes from Africa.

Some German settlers, who, a few years before, had been induced by one Law, a great stock-jobbing and land speculator, to emigrate to the banks of the Arkansas, decided to remove. A tract of land, lying twenty miles above New Orleans, known now as the

"German coast," was given them. Their settlement was in contrast with the others. They were industrious, and cultivated their farms, raised vegetables, rice and other provisions; also tobacco and indigo. The fig and the orange were now introduced. The Illinois region had been settled by emigrants from Canada, who raised wheat and sent flour to the colonists below. The priests meanwhile were not idle in teaching the Indians, and a convent was founded at New Orleans for the education of girls. As the colonists had not energy enough to protect themselves, a thousand soldiers were sent from France for that purpose.

The Choctaws, the allies of the French, occupied the region between the lower Mississippi and the Alabama. The principal village of the Natchez tribe was on the bluff where now stands the city of that name. They were not a numerous people, unlike the tribes among whom they dwelt, in their language as well as in their religion. Like the Peruvians, they were worshippers of the sun, and in their great wigwam they kept an undying fire. Their principal chief professed to be a descendant of the sun. They became justly alarmed at the encroachments of the French, who having Fort Rosalie, demanded the soil on which stood their principal village, for a farm. They suddenly fell upon the white intruders and killed two hundred of their number, and took captive their women and children. The negro slaves joined the Indians. Their principal chief, the Great Sun, had the heads of the French officers slain in the battle arranged around him, that he might smoke his pipe in triumph;—his triumph was short. A company, consisting of French and Choctaws, under Le Suer, came up from New Orleans, and surprised them while they were yet celebrating their victory. The Great Sun and four hundred of his people were taken



captive and sent to St. Domingo as slaves. Some of the Natchez escaped and fled to the Chickasaws, and some fled beyond the Mississippi; their land passed into the hand of strangers, and soon, they as a people were unknown.

The territory of the brave Chickasaws, almost surrounding that of Natchez, extended north to the Ohio, and east to the land of the Cherokees. They were the enemies of the French, whose boats, trading from Canada and Illinois to New Orleans, they were accustomed to plunder. English traders from Carolina were careful to increase this enmity toward their rivals.

Two expeditions were set on foot to chastise these bold marauders. Bienville came up from the south with a fleet of boats and canoes, and a force of twelve hundred Choctaws: he paddled up the Tombecbee as far as he could, and then hastened across the country to surprise one of their fortified places. D'Artaguetie hastened down from the Illinois country, of which he was governor, with fifty Frenchmen and a thousand Indians, to attack another of their strongholds. The Chickasaws were too vigilant to be thus surprised. They repulsed Bienville, dispersed the forces of D'Artaguetie, took him prisoner, and burned him at the stake. Once more an attempt was made with all the force the French could bring to crush this warlike tribe, but in vain; the patriotic Chickasaws successfully defended their country against the foreign foe.

These reverses did not deter the persevering French from establishing trading houses south of Lake Erie, and down the Alleghany to the Ohio, and thence to the Mississippi. The people of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia became alarmed at these encroachments on their territory. The Iroquois professed to have conquered all the valley of

the Ohio, and they claimed a vast region to the northwest as their hunting grounds. Commissioners from the above colonies met the envoys of the Iroquois at Lancaster, and purchased from them for £400 all their claim to the regions which they professed to own between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany mountains.

The colonies had enjoyed nearly thirty years of comparative freedom from French and Indian incursions, when they were involved in what is known as King George's War.

The first intimation of hostilities was an attack upon the fort at Canso, in which the garrison was captured and carried to Louisburg. Louisburg was the great stronghold of the French on this continent; the centre from which privateering expeditions were fitted out, that had nearly destroyed the commerce as well as the fisheries of New England. To prevent these depredations, and the inroads to which the French incited their Indian allies, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proposed to the General Court to take Louisburg. No aid was expected from the mother country—she was too much engaged at home; but the other colonies were invited to enlist in the common cause. New Jersey and Pennsylvania agreed to furnish money, but declined to send men; New York furnished money and some cannon; Connecticut offered five hundred men; Rhode Island and New Hampshire each furnished a regiment. Massachusetts proposed the expedition, was the most interested in its success, bore the greater part of the expense, and furnished the greater portion of the men and vessels. The fishermen, especially those of Marblehead, entered upon the enterprise with alacrity. Their fisheries had been almost ruined and they thrown out of employment, by the continued forays from Louisburg. Farmers, mechanics, lum-

bermen volunteered in great numbers. Here were citizen soldiers, without a single man whose knowledge of military tactics went beyond bush-fighting with the Indians, and all equally ignorant of the proper means to be used in reducing a fortified place. A wealthy merchant, William Pepperell, of Maine, was elected commander. The artillery was under the direction of Gridley, the same who, thirty years afterward, held a similar position in an American army under very different circumstances. The enthusiasm was great, and what was lacking in means and skill, was supplied by zeal. A strong Protestant sentiment was mingled with the enterprise, and Whitefield, then on his third tour of preaching in the colonies, was urged to furnish a motto for the banner. He promptly suggested, "Nil desperandum, Christo duce,"—"Nothing is to be despaired of when Christ is leader." He also preached to them an inspiring sermon, and they sailed, like the Crusaders of old, confident of success.

In April the fleet arrived at Canso, but owing to the ice, could not enter the harbor of Louisburg. Intelligence of the expedition had been sent to England, and Admiral Warren, who commanded on the West India station, was invited to join the enterprise. He declined for want of explicit orders, but afterward receiving permission, he hastened to join them with four men-of-war.

The whole armament was now put in motion for Louisburg. That stronghold had walls forty feet thick, thirty feet high, and surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide, with protecting forts around it, manned by nearly two hundred and fifty cannon, small and great, and garrisoned by sixteen hundred men.

As the fleet approached, the French came down to the beach to oppose their landing, but in a moment



the "whale boats," filled with armed men, were "flying like eagles" to the shore. Their opposers, panic-stricken, fled; and the following night the soldiers of the royal battery, one of the outside forts, spiked their cannon and retreated to the town. The deserted fort was immediately taken possession of, and the gunsmiths went to work to bore out the spikes. The next day a detachment marched round the town, giving it three cheers as they passed, and took up a position that completely enclosed the place on the land side, while the fleet did the same toward the ocean. They threw up batteries, dragged their cannon over a morass, and brought them to bear upon the fortress.

These amateur soldiers soon became accustomed to encamping in the open air, and sleeping in the woods, as well as to the cannon-balls sent among them by the besieged. They not only prevented ships from entering the harbor, but found means to decoy into the midst of their fleet and capture a man-of-war of sixty-four guns, laden with stores for the fort. This loss so much disheartened the garrison that, after a siege of seven weeks, Louisbourg surrendered. The news of this success sent a thrill of joy throughout the colonies. It was the greatest feat of the war, and was accomplished by undisciplined volunteers.

France resolved, at any cost, to recover her stronghold, and also to desolate the English colonies. The fleet sent for the purpose was disabled by storms, while pestilence wasted the men. The commander, the Duke d'Anville, suddenly died, and his successor, a short time after, committed suicide. The next year the fleet, sent for the same purpose, was forced to strike its colors to an English squadron under Admirals Anson and Warren.

Though thus successful, the frontier settlements

still suffered greatly, and in self-defense the old project was revived of conquering Canada. The government of England required all the colonies, as far south as Virginia, to furnish men and means. Eight thousand men were raised, of which number Massachusetts furnished nearly one-half. The British ministry suddenly changed their mind, and the enterprise was abandoned. Soon after, the treaty of Aix la Chapelle was concluded, by which all places taken by either party during the war were to be restored. Thus Louisburg, the capture of which was so gratifying to the colonists, and so significant of their daring spirit, passed again into the hands of the French.

The ministry did not relish the ardor and independence of the colonists, who appeared to have, according to Admiral Warren, "the highest notions of the rights and liberties of Englishmen; and, indeed, as almost levelers." It was in truth the foreshadowing of their complete independence of the mother country, and measures were taken by her to make them more subservient. They were forbidden to have any manufactures, to trade to any place out of the British dominions, while no other nation than the English was permitted to trade with them. "These oppressions," says an intelligent traveller of that day, "may make, within thirty or fifty years, the colonies entirely independent of England."

For many years there had been a marked decline in religion in New England. A peculiar union of church and state had led to a sort of compromise between the two, known as the "Half-way covenant," by which persons who had been baptized, but without pretensions to personal piety, were admitted to the full privileges of church members.

In the midst of this declension a religious "Awakening," better known as the "Great Revival," commenced at Northampton, in Massachusetts, under the

preaching of Jonathan Edwards, a young man remarkable for his intellectual endowments. His sermons were doctrinal and strongly Calvinistic. His religious character had been early developed. At thirteen he entered Yale College; thoughtful beyond his years, a metaphysician by nature, at that early age he was enraptured with the perusal of Locke on the "Understanding." Secluded from the world by the love of study, he penetrated far into the mysteries of the workings of the human mind.

Edwards drew from the Bible the knowledge of the true relation between the church and the world. The contest was long and strenuous, but the lines were clearly drawn, and from that day to this the distinction is marked and appreciated. "He repudiated the system of the Half-way covenant," and proclaimed the old doctrines of "the sole right of the sanctified to enjoy the privileges of church members, and of salvation by faith alone." As the influence of the state in religious matters thus began to fade away, a closer spiritual relation of men to men, not as members of a commonwealth alone, but as members of a great brotherhood, gained in importance.

Parties sprang into existence; those who favored a more spiritual life in religion were stigmatized as "New Lights," while the steady conservatives were known as the "Old Lights." So bitter was the feeling that in Connecticut the civil authority was invoked, and severe laws were enacted against the New Lights. The controversy was so warm that Edwards was driven from his congregation—at that time, "the largest Protestant society in the world." He went as a missionary to the Housatonic Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. There in a forest, amid toils and privations, he wrote his far-famed treatise on the "Freedom of the Will," which has exerted so



much influence in the theological world, while the writer was the first American that obtained a European reputation as an author.

During this period Whitefield came, by invitation, to New England. He had been preaching in the south with unexampled success. At intervals, for more than thirty years, he preached the gospel from colony to colony. "Hundreds of thousands heard the highest evangelical truths uttered with an eloquence probably never equalled." The influence of the awakening spread till all the colonies were visited by the same blessings, and especially the Presbyterians of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and in a less degree in the more southern colonies. These influences were not limited to that age, for similar revivals have continued to our own time.

The Baptists, hitherto but few in numbers, received a new impulse, as many of the New Light churches adopted their views; and the preaching of Whitefield prepared the way for the success of the Methodists.

The revival created a want for ministers of the gospel, to supply which, the Rev. William Tennent established an academy at Neshaminy; an institution where young men professing the religious fervor that characterized those prominent in the revival, could be prepared for the sacred office. This was the germ of Princeton college.

This religious sentiment met with little sympathy from the authorities of the colony, and with difficulty a charter was obtained. The institution was named Nassau Hall, in honor of the great Protestant hero, William III. It was first located at Elizabethtown, then at Newark, and finally at Princeton. Its success was unexampled; in ten years the number of students increased from eight to ninety.

## CHAPTER XXI.

1749—1755

### FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The Valley of the Ohio—French and English Claimants—Gist the Pioneer—George Washington; His Character; His Mission to the French on the Alleghany—Returns to Williamsburg—St. Pierre's Letter Unsatisfactory—Virginians Driven from the Ohio—Fort Du Quesne Built—Washington Sent to Defend the Frontiers—Conflict at Fort Necessity—The Fort Abandoned—British Troops Arrive in America—Plan of Operations—General Braddock; His Qualifications—The Army Marches From Wills' Creek—Obstinacy of Braddock—Arrival on the Monongahela—The Battle—Defeat—Death and Burial of Braddock—Dunbar's Panic—The Frontiers Left Unprotected.

Scarcely an English colonist had yet settled in the valley of the Ohio. The traders who visited the Indians in that region, told marvelous stories of the fertility of the soil, and the desirableness of the climate. It was proposed to found a colony west of the Alleghany mountains. The governor of Virginia received royal instructions to grant the "Ohio Company" five hundred thousand acres of land lying between the rivers Monongahela and Kanawha, and on the Ohio. The company engaged to send one hundred families; to induce them to emigrate they offered them freedom from quit-rents for ten years.

Meantime, the French sent three hundred men to expel the English traders and take possession of the valley. They also sent agents, who passed through the territory north of the Ohio river, and at various points nailed on the trees plates of lead, on which were inscribed the arms of France. This they were careful to do in the presence of the Indians, who sus-

pected they intended to take away their lands. When the English came and made surveys on the south side of the Ohio, they asked them the puzzling question: "If the French take possession of the north side of the Ohio, and the English of the south, where is the Indian's land?"

At Wills' Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, one of the easiest passes over the mountains commenced. Here the Ohio Company established a place of deposit to supply Indian traders with goods. They also wished to explore the Ohio river to the great falls; to ascertain the location of the best lands, and whether the Indians were friendly or unfriendly. They employed for this dangerous and difficult task the celebrated trader and pioneer Christopher Gist, who crossed the mountains and came upon the Alleghany river, at a village occupied by a few Delaware Indians. Thence he passed down to Logstown, a sort of head-quarters for traders, situated some miles below the junction of that river and the Monongahela. Here dwelt a renowned chief of the western tribes, Tanacharison, or half-king, as he was called, because he acknowledged a sort of allegiance to the Mohawks. "You are come to settle the Indian lands," said the resident trader, whose suspicions were roused; "you will never go home safe." Gist traversed the region of the Muskingum and of the Scioto, then crossed the Ohio, and passed up the Cuttawa or Kentucky to its very springs. He gave a glowing account of the beauty and fertility of the region he had visited. It was covered with trees of immense size, the wild cherry, the ash, the black walnut, and the sugar maple, the two latter giving indubitable proof of the fertility of the soil; a land abounding in never-failing springs and rivulets, forests interspersed with small meadows covered with long grass and white clover, on which fed herds of elk, deer, and buffalo, while

the wild turkey and other game promised abundance to the hunter and pioneer. Such was the primitive character of the territory since known as the State of Ohio.

He ascertained that French emissaries were visiting all the western tribes, to induce them to take up arms against the English; that the Indians looked upon both as intruders, and though willing to trade with both, were unwilling that either should occupy their lands. The French saw that if the English obtained a foothold on the Ohio, they would cut off the communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi. The final struggle for the supremacy in the valley was near at hand.

While the English, by invitation of the Indians, were approaching from the south, to build a fort at the head of the Ohio, the French were approaching the same point from the north. The latter had built war vessels at Frontenac to give them the command of Lake Ontario; they had strengthened themselves with treaties with the most powerful tribes, the Shawnees and the Delawares; they had repaired at Fort Niagara, at the foot of Lake Erie, and at this time had not less than sixty fortified and well garrisoned posts between Montreal and New Orleans. They had also built a fort at Presque Isle, now Erie, one on French Creek, on the site of Waterford, and another at the junction of that creek with the Alleghany, now the village of Franklin.

Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, resolved to send a messenger to remonstrate with the French for intruding on English territory. Where could he find a man of energy and prudence to trust in this laborious and perilous undertaking? His attention was directed to a mere youth, in his twenty-second year, a surveyor, who, in the duties of his profession, had become somewhat familiar with the privations of for-



est life. That young man was George Washington. He was a native of Westmoreland county, Virginia. The death of his father left him an orphan when eleven years of age. The wealthy Virginia planters of those days were accustomed to send their sons to England to complete their education, and thus had Lawrence, his half-brother, fourteen years older than himself, been educated. No such privilege was in store for George. His father's death may have interfered with such plans: be that as it may, he was sent to the common school in the neighborhood, and there taught only the simplest branches of an English education—to spell, to read, to write, to cipher. When older, he went for some time to an academy of a somewhat higher grade, where he devoted his time particularly to the study of mathematics.

Though his school advantages were so limited, it was his inestimable privilege to have a mother endowed with good sense, united to decision of character and Christian principle,—she inspired love, she enforced obedience. From her he inherited an ardent, impulsive temper—from her he received his antidote; she taught him to hold it in subjection.

The early life of George Washington furnished an example worthy the imitation of the youth of his country. We are told of his love of truth, of his generous and noble acts, that he won the confidence of his schoolmates, and received from them that respect which virtue alone can secure.

He was systematic and diligent in all his studies. There may yet be seen, in the library at Mount Vernon, the book in which he drew his first exercise in surveying; every diagram made with the utmost care. Thus was foreshadowed in the youth what was fully developed in the man. At the early age of sixteen, we find him in the woods on the frontiers of Virginia, performing his duties as a surveyor; mak-

ing his measurements with so much accuracy that to this day they are relied upon.

We must not suppose that the studious and sedate youth, with his rules for governing his "conversation and conduct" carefully written out, and as carefully observed, was destitute of boyish feelings. He had his youthful sports and enjoyments; he could exhibit feats of strength and skill; he could ride a horse or throw a stone with any boy, and was so far military in his tastes as occasionally to drill his school-fellows during recess.

His brother Lawrence had spent some time in the English navy, and George had often heard of the excitements of the seaman's life, and had boyish longings for adventures on the ocean. Circumstances seemed to favor his wishes. When fourteen, it was decided that he should enter the navy. The man-of-war on which he was to go as a midshipman was lying in the Potomac; his baggage was ready, but when the parting hour came the mother's heart failed. Though deeply disappointed, George yielded to her wish, and relinquished his anticipated pleasure.

Though Washington was born and spent his youth in the wilds of Virginia, there were many refining influences brought to bear upon the formation of his character. He was intimate for years in the Fairfax family, who brought with them to their western home the refinement and culture of the English aristocracy of that day. Neither must we overlook the benign influence exerted over him by his educated and benevolent brother Lawrence, who, up to the time of his death, watched over his young brother with a father's care, as well as a brother's love.

The influence of Christian principle governing the impulses of a noble nature, was the secret of the moral excellence, the dignified integrity, unaffected

candor, and sterling worth, which shone forth in the character of Washington,—a name so much blended with the liberties of his country, and so much cherished and honored by the friends of humanity in every clime.

Governor Dinwiddie gave his youthful messenger a letter for the French commandant on the Ohio, in which he demanded of him his reasons for invading the territory of England. The very day on which Washington received his credentials, (October 30,) he left Williamsburg for Winchester, then a frontier town of Virginia. By the middle of November his preparations were completed. With a company consisting of the intrepid Gist, who acted as guide, two interpreters, and four others, he set out from Wills' Creek. A journey of nine days, through solitudes and mountain passes, and across streams swollen by recent rains, brought them to where the Monongahela, that river "so deep and still," meets the "swift running Alleghany." Washington explored the neighborhood, and remarks in his journal: "The land at the Fork is extremely well situated for a fort, as it has absolute command of both rivers." Thus thought the French engineers, who afterward on that very spot built Fort Du Quesne.

Shingis, chief sachem of the Delawares, who afterward took up arms against the English, accompanied him to Logstown. Here, by his instructions, Washington was to confer with the Indian chiefs: he summoned them to a grand talk. They would not commit themselves; they had heard that the French were coming with a strong force to drive the English out of the land. But he induced three of them to accompany him to the station of the French commandant; among them was the Half-King.

When he arrived at Venango, or Franklin, the officer in command referred him to the Chevalier St.

Pierre, general officer at the next post. Meanwhile he was treated with politeness, and invited by the French officers to a supper. The wine passed freely, and the talkative Frenchmen began to boast of their plans; they would "take possession of the Ohio; the English could raise two men to their one, but they were too slow and dilatory." The sober and cautious Washington marked well their words. The three chiefs had promised well; they would give back the speech belts to the French; they were friends to the English. But when plied with drink, and hailed by the French as "Indian brothers," they wavered for a time.

Washington obtained an interview with St. Pierre, "an ancient and silver-haired chevalier, courteous but ceremonious," and after some delay received an answer to his despatches, and hastened homeward. As the pack-horses were disabled, he left them and the baggage, and with Gist for his only companion struck out into the wilderness. The cold was intense, the snow was falling, and freezing as it fell. Wrapped in Indian blankets, with their guns in their hands and knapsacks on their backs, and a compass to guide them, they pushed on toward the Alleghany river, which they hoped to cross on the ice. Their journey through the pathless wild was marked by some mishaps and hairbreadth escapes. Their lives were endangered by a false guide, and Washington in endeavoring to force his way through the ice in the river, came near perishing; but, on the sixteenth of January, they arrived safely at Williamsburg.

The answer of St. Pierre was courteous but indefinite. He referred the matter to the Marquis Du Quesne, the governor of Canada. It was clear, however, that he did not intend to retire from the valley of the Ohio. This was still more evident from the preparations of boats, artillery, and military



stores, which Washington noticed up the Alleghany, waiting for the spring flood, when they would be taken to their place of destination.

The following spring the Ohio Company sent between thirty and forty men to build a fort at the head of the Ohio. The French were on the alert; a company of soldiers floated down the Alleghany, who surprised and surrounded them at their work. They must surrender in an hour's time or defend themselves against a thousand men. They were glad to leave their unfinished fort and return to Virginia. The French took immediate possession, finished it, and named it Du Quesne.

At the early age of nineteen Washington had been appointed Adjutant-General of the northern district of Virginia, an office which he filled to the entire satisfaction of his countrymen. Now he received the commission of lieutenant-colonel, with orders to protect the frontiers. He was also offered the command of the expedition against the French at Fort Du Quesne. This he declined on account of his youth: the command was then conferred upon Colonel Fry, who shortly after fell ill, and it virtually passed into the hands of Washington. His little army was ill provided with tents and military stores, and poorly clad. They moved on very slowly. It was not easy with a train of artillery to pass through the forests, climb mountains, and ford swollen rivers. Washington pushed on with a detachment for the junction of the Redstone and Monongahela. There, on the spot now known as Brownsville, he hoped to maintain his position until the main force should come up, and then he would float down the river in flat-boats to Fort Du Quesne.

On the ninth of May this detachment arrived at a place called the Little Meadows. Here they met traders, who informed them that the French were in

great force at Du Quesne, and that a portion of them had set out on a secret expedition. There was but little doubt as to its object. Presently came an Indian runner; he had seen the tracks of the Frenchmen; they were near. The Half-King with forty warriors was also in the neighborhood. On a dark and stormy night, Washington and forty of his men groped their way to his camp, which they reached about daylight. This faithful ally put a couple of runners upon the enemy's tracks; they reported that the French were encamped in a deep glen, where they had put up temporary cabins.

Washington arranged his company in two divisions, and so effectually surprised them that few of their number escaped. Among the slain was the youthful De Jumonville, the leader of the party. Here was shed the first blood in that seven years' struggle, in which the French power on this continent was broken. As no reinforcements were sent, Washington was greatly disappointed; he could not maintain the advantage he had gained. He heard that a numerous force was on its way to attack him. In a letter to his friend Colonel Fairfax he writes: "The motives that had led me here are pure and noble. I had no view of acquisition, but that of honor by serving faithfully my king and country."

He built a fort at the Great Meadows, which, from the fact of a famine pressing upon them, he named Fort Necessity. It is a fact worthy to mention, that at this encampment public prayer was daily observed, and conducted by the youthful commander himself.

Soon five hundred French and many hundred Indians appeared on the hills in sight of the fort. He drew out his men for battle, but the enemy declined the contest. Then he withdrew them within the enclosure, giving them directions to fire only when the enemy was in sight. This irregular fighting contin-

ued throughout the day. The rain poured in torrents, and rendered useless many of their muskets. At night the French desired a parley; suspecting stratagem to introduce a spy, Washington at first refused, but at length consented. Much of the night was spent in negotiation; finally, the Virginians were allowed to leave the fort with the honors of war, and their equipments and stores, except artillery. The next morning the youthful hero led out his men. The Indians immediately began to plunder; Washington, seeing this, ordered every thing to be destroyed that the soldiers could not carry. The loss of the Virginia regiment, which numbered about three hundred, was nearly fifty; the loss of the enemy was greater. After much toil and suffering, from want of provisions, they arrived at Cumberland. Thus ended the first military expedition of Washington. Although unsuccessful, he displayed so much prudence and judgment that the people were impressed by his merits, and which the House of Burgesses acknowledged by a vote of thanks.

He was, however, soon after annoyed and mortified by the course pursued by the narrow-minded Dinwiddie, who, unwilling to promote the provincial officers, dissolved the Virginia regiments, and formed them into independent companies, in which there should be no officer of higher rank than that of captain. With a dignity and self-respect worthy of his character, Washington withdrew from the army. When Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, was appointed commander-in-chief by the king, he invited him, through a friend, to join it again under the title of colonel, but really with no higher authority than that of captain. He declined the offer, writing in reply, "If you think me capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument to it, you must maintain a very contemptible opinion of

my weakness, and believe me more empty than the commission itself." He was still further mortified by Dinwiddie's refusal to give up the French prisoners, according to the articles of capitulation at Fort Necessity.

While these contests were in progress in the valley of the Ohio, the French and English nations were ostensibly at peace. Each, desirous of deceiving the other, professed to hope that this little collision would not interrupt their harmony; the French still continued to send ships to America laden with soldiers; and the English matured plans to drive them away.

Matters took a more decided form; war was not declared, but open hostilities commenced, and England, for the first time, sent an army to aid the colonists.

Four expeditions were decided upon; one to capture the French posts near the head of the bay of Fundy, and expel the French from Acadia; another against Crown Point, to be led by William Johnson, Indian agent among the Mohawks; the third, against Niagara and Frontenac, was to be intrusted to Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts; the fourth against Fort Du Quesne; the latter the Commander-in-Chief, General Edward Braddock, was to lead in person.

The struggle was about to commence in earnest; British troops had arrived, and the colonies responded with a good will to the call of the mother country for levies of soldiers.

General Braddock was perfect in the theory and practice of mere military training; he had been in the "Guards" many years, where he had drilled and drilled, but had never seen actual service. With the conceited assurance of inexperience, he believed the excellencies of the soldiers were alone found in the British regular—the perfection of military skill in British officers. To these qualifications he added a



most supercilious contempt for the provincial soldiers and their officers.

He was to lead in person the force against Fort Du Quesne. Of the difficulties of marching an army over mountains, and through an unbroken wilderness, he was blindly ignorant. He was unwilling to hear advice, or even receive information on the subject; and when Washington, whom he had invited to act as one of his aids, suggested that "if the march was to be regulated by the slow movements of the train, it would be tedious, very tedious indeed," he made no reply, but smiled at the simplicity of the young man, who knew so little about the movements of a regular army. Afterward, Benjamin Franklin ventured to direct his attention to the danger of Indian ambuscades. To his suggestion Braddock replied: "The Indians are no doubt formidable to raw Americans, but upon the king's regulars, and disciplined troops, it is, sir, impossible they should make any impression."

The army assembled at Wills' Creek, to which place Braddock came in his coach, and surrounded by his staff, "cursing the road very heartily"—its roughness had broken his coach, and ruffled his temper. He refused to employ Indians as scouts on the march, or to protect the Pennsylvanians, who were making a road for the passage of the army; hooted at the suggestion of Washington to take as little baggage as possible, and to employ pack-horses instead of wagons. The English officers could give up neither their cumbrous baggage nor their luxuries, neither could the general dispense with "his two good cooks, who could make an excellent ragout out of a pair of books, had they but materials to toss them up with."

After a month's delay, the army commenced its march. The difficulties of dragging heavily laden wagons and artillery over roads filled with stumps

of trees and rocks, brought the general partially to his senses, and he inquired of Washington what was the best to be done. From recent accounts it was known that the garrison at Fort Du Quesne was small, and he advised that a division of light armed troops should be hurried forward to take possession of the place, before reinforcements could arrive from Canada. Accordingly, twelve hundred choice men were detached from the main body and pushed forward, taking with them ten field-pieces, and pack-horses to carry their baggage. The main division was left under the command of Colonel Dunbar, with orders to move on as fast as possible.

The general persisted in refusing to employ either Indians or backwoodsmen as scouts. There was a celebrated hunter known all along the frontiers as Captain Jack. He was "the terror of the Indians." He had been their prisoner, had lived years among them, and was familiar with their habits. Afterward he cleared for himself a piece of land, built his cabin, and, happy in his forest life, cultivated his ground and amused himself hunting and fishing. On his return home on a certain evening he found his wife and children murdered, and his cabin ashes. From that hour he devoted his life to defend the frontiers, and to avenge himself upon the destroyers of his worldly happiness. He offered his services and those of his band to act as scouts, and seek the Indians in their lurking places. Braddock received him very coldly, and declined the offer, saying that he "had experienced troops upon whom he could rely for all purposes."

Even the advance division moved very slowly, not more than three or four miles a day. Says Washington in a letter, "Instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they halt to level every molehill and to erect a bridge over every

brook." A month's slow march through the woods brought the army to the east bank of the Monongahela, about fifteen miles above Fort Du Quesne. Only the very day before the proposed attack on that fort, Washington, who had been detained by a fit of sickness, was able to join them. As the hills came down to the water's edge, it was necessary to cross the river directly opposite to the camp, and five miles below, at another ford, recross to the east side. Colonel Gage—he, who, twenty years afterward, commanded a British army in Boston—crossed before daylight, and with his detachment moved rapidly to the second ford; then recrossing, took position to protect the passage of the main force. Washington ventured once more to suggest that the Virginia Rangers, consisting of three hundred men, should be thrown in advance. This proposition received an angry reply from Braddock, and, as if to make the rebuke more conspicuous, the Virginians and other provincials were placed as a rear-guard. At sunrise the remainder of the army was in motion. Their equipments were in the most perfect order; their muskets were burnished, and charged with fresh cartridges, and in high spirits they moved along, with bayonets fixed, colors flying and drums beating.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, after recrossing the river, as the army was moving along a narrow road, not more than twelve feet wide, with scarcely a scout in front or on the flanks, the engineer, who was marking the way, suddenly cried out "French and Indians." Scarcely was the alarm given, before rapid firing was heard in front, accompanied by most terrific yells. The enemy was in a broad ravine, covered with low shrubs, with moderately rising ground in front and on both sides. On this elevation among the trees were French and Indians, invisible to the English, but from their hiding places

able to see every movement of the soldiers in the ravine, and to take deliberate aim. The regulars were thrown into confusion; the sight of their companions shot down beside them by an invisible enemy, together with the unearthly yells of the savages, sent a thrill of horror through their souls. They were ordered to charge bayonet up the hill, but no orders could induce them to leave the line. The enemy had been sent to occupy this very position, but had arrived too late; now they were spreading all along both sides of the ravine. The English soldiers lost all control, and fired at random into the woods, wherever they saw the smoke of an enemy's gun. The advance party fell back upon the second division, and threw it into still greater confusion. At this moment Colonel Burton came up with a reinforcement, eight hundred strong, but just as they had formed to face the enemy, down upon them rushed the two foremost divisions pell-mell; all were crowded together in inextricable confusion, and their officers were nearly all slain or wounded. Now came Braddock himself. He ordered the colors to advance, and the respective regiments to separate and form in ranks—but in vain. No orders were obeyed.

In a few minutes after the battle commenced the Virginia Rangers were behind trees, and rapidly picking off the Indians; but unfortunately many of these brave men fell victims to the random shots of the regulars. Washington entreated Braddock to permit his soldiers to protect themselves, as the Virginians had done; but he refused, and when any sheltered themselves behind trees, he called them cowards and struck them with the flat of his sword. Thus, through his obstinacy, these unfortunate men became targets for the enemy. The officers exhibited the greatest bravery, and many of them fell, as they were the special objects of the sharpshooters.



Two of the aids, Morris and Orme, were severely wounded, and their duties devolved upon Washington. His exposure was great, as he passed often from one part of the field to another; yet he gave his orders with calmness and judgment. When sent to bring up the artillery, he found the Indians surrounding it, Sir Peter Halket, the commander, killed, and the men paralyzed with fear. He encouraged them, leaped from his horse, pointed a field-piece and discharged it. It was useless; the men deserted the guns. For three hours the desperate fight lasted. During this time Braddock was in the centre of the conflict, trying, in his way, to regain the field. His officers had nearly all fallen, and his slain soldiers covered the ground; still he would not permit the remainder to adopt the Indian mode of fighting.

Five horses were shot under him, and finally he himself was mortally wounded. As he was falling from his horse Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Guards, caught him in his arms. As they bore him out of danger, he begged to be left to die upon the field of his misfortune. All was now abandoned. The fall of the general saved the army from entire destruction. The soldiers were now at liberty to save themselves as best they could. "The regulars fled like sheep before hounds." The Virginia Rangers threw themselves in the rear, and for some time held the enemy in check. The wagoners mounted their team horses and fled; all hurried to the ford, fiercely pursued by the Indians. The love of plunder restrained the pursuers, and after the fugitives had recrossed the river they were not molested.

Washington rode all that night and the next day to Dunbar's camp to obtain wagons to transport the wounded, and soldiers to guard them. When he had obtained these he hastened back to meet the fugitives.

Braddock was still able to issue orders, and seems to have had a faint hope that he might hold out till he could receive reinforcements. He was carried by the soldiers, being unable to mount a horse;—at length, the fugitives arrived at Fort Necessity. The wounded general appeared to be heart-broken. He scarcely spoke; as if reflecting on his past confidence in his troops, he would occasionally ejaculate, "Who would have thought it?" Tradition tells of his softened feelings toward those whom he had treated harshly; of his gratitude to Captain Stewart for his care and kindness; of his apology to Washington for the manner in which he had received his advice. On the night of the thirteenth of July he died. The next morning, before the break of day, he was buried as secretly as possible, lest the Indians, who were hovering around, should find his grave and violate it. The chaplain was among the wounded, and Washington read the funeral service. Near the National road, a mile west of Fort Necessity, may be seen a rude pile of stones—the work of some friendly hand,—it marks the grave of Braddock. "His dauntless conduct on the field of battle shows him to have been a man of spirit. His melancholy end, too, disarms censure of his asperity. Whatever may have been his faults and errors, he, in a manner expiated them by the hardest lot that can befall a brave soldier ambitious of renown,—an unhonored grave in a strange land, a memory clouded by misfortune, and a name ever coupled with defeat."<sup>1</sup>

The frightened Dunbar, though he had under his command fifteen hundred effective men,—enough, if properly led, to have regained the field, broke up his camp, destroyed his stores, and retreated with all speed; only when he arrived safely in Philadelphia did he breathe freely. His failure of duty left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the savages.

Of eighty-six officers, twenty-six had perished, and thirty-six were wounded. Among the latter was Captain Horatio Gates, who, twenty-five years later, was conspicuous as a major-general in the struggle for independence. Of the soldiers, more than seven hundred were either killed or wounded. The gallant Virginia Rangers had perished in great numbers, for upon them had fallen the brunt of the battle. When it became known that there were only two hundred and twenty-five French, and about six hundred and fifty Indians in the battle, the disgrace was deeply felt, that this handful of men, sent merely to hold the English in check, should have defeated a well-equipped and disciplined army of nearly twice their own number.

The religious sentiments of the colonists were greatly shocked at the profanity, Sabbath-breaking, and almost every form of vice and wickedness common in this boastful army. So certain were the expectations of victory, that preparations were made to celebrate it.

It is proper to notice the effects of these events upon the minds of the colonists. With them the name of the British regulars had lost its prestige—they were not invincible. In addition, the haughtiness of the British officers had inflicted wounds destined never to be healed. The attention of the people was directed especially to Washington. In a letter to his brother Augustine he says: "By the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, though death was levelling my companions on every side around me."

The wonderful manner in which he had been preserved in that day of peril, excited universal attention. No doubt the Rev. Samuel Davies, one of the

#### FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

most celebrated clergymen of the day, expressed the common sentiment, when, in a sermon preached soon after Braddock's defeat, he referred to him as "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." Washington was never wounded in battle; he was shielded by the same protecting hand.



## CHAPTER XXII.

1755—1757

### FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—CONTINUED

The French Acadians; Their Simple Manners, Industry, and Good Morals—Expulsion from Their Homes, and Mournful Exile—Expedition Against Crown Point—Baron Dieskau—English Defeated—Death of Colonel Williams—Attack on Johnson's Camp Repulsed—Death of Dieskau—Williams College—Indian Ravages on the Frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania—Kittanning Destroyed—Lord Loudon Commander-in-Chief—His Tardiness and Arbitrary Measures—Montcalm Acts With Energy; Captures Fort Ontario, then Fort William Henry—Exhausted Condition of Canada.

In the meantime other expeditions were undertaken against the French. For this purpose Massachusetts alone raised eight thousand soldiers, almost one-fifth part of her able-bodied men. A portion of Acadia or Nova Scotia was still in the hands of the French. It consisted of the isthmus on the northern part, which was defended by two insignificant forts. For forty years, since the peace of Utrecht, the peninsula had been under British rule, and now the whole territory was completely subdued. These forts, with scarcely any resistance, fell into the hands of the English. Sixteen years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth this French colony was established on the Peninsula of Acadia. It was the oldest permanent French settlement in North America. For one hundred and fifty years the Acadians had been gradually clearing and improving their lands, and enjoying the comforts of rural life. At first their chief sources of wealth had been the fisheries and the fur-trade; but these had gradually giv-

en way to agriculture. Their social intercourse was governed by a high tone of morals. Their differences, but few in number, were settled by the arbitration of their old men. Seldom did they go with complaints to their English rulers. Early marriages were encouraged, and when a young man came of age, his neighbors built him a house, and aided him for one year, and the wife's friends aided her with gifts. Their fields were fertile, and industry made them productive. Their meadows, which now were covered with flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, they had, by means of dikes, redeemed from the great flow of the tide. Their little cottages dotted the landscape. In their domestic industry each family provided for its own wants, and clothed its members with cloth and linen made from the wool of their flocks, or from the flax of their fields.

As Catholics, they were happy in the exercise of their religion; though they belonged to the diocese of Quebec, they were not brought into close relation with the people of Canada. They knew but little of what was passing beyond the limits of their own neighborhood. Independent of the world, they had its comforts, but not its luxuries. They now numbered about seventeen thousand inhabitants, and up to this time their English rulers had left them undisturbed in their seclusion.

A dark cloud was hanging over this scene of rural simplicity and comfort. As they were excused from bearing arms against France by the terms of their surrender, the Acadians were known as "French neutrals"; neither had they been required to take the usual oaths of allegiance; they had promised submission to English authority, to be neutral in times of war with France, and it was understood they were to enjoy their religion. This oath was one which, as good Frenchmen and good Catholics, they could not

take; it required them to bear arms against their own brethren in Canada, and it might involve the interests of their religion. "Better," urged the priests, "surrender your meadows to the sea and your houses to the flames, than at the peril of your souls take the oath of allegiance to the British government." But it was now to be exacted. "They possess the best and largest tract of land in this province," writes Lawrence, Lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, to Lord Halifax; "if they refuse the oaths, it would be much better that they were away." This "largest and best tract" seems to have been coveted by their English rulers; they undoubtedly were suspicious of the Acadians as Catholics, and it is true some of their more ardent young men belonged, as volunteers, to the garrisons of the recently captured forts; but as this simple-minded people had neither the will nor the power to aid the enemies of England, we cannot suppose that this suspicion alone induced the British to visit upon them a severity so unparalleled. The question of allegiance was, however, to be pressed to the utmost; if they refused to take the oath, the titles to their lands were to be null and void. The haughty conduct of the British officers sent to enforce these orders was to them a harbinger of sorrow. Their property was wantonly taken for the public service, and "they not to be bargained with for payment;" if they did not bring wood at the proper time, "the soldiers might take their houses for fuel." Their guns were taken, and their boats seized, under the pretence that they intended to carry provisions to the French. The English insisted upon treating this people, so faithful to their country and their religion, as lawless rebels. Wearied by these oppressions, their deputies promised allegiance; they declared that their conscience would not permit them to rebel against their rulers, and

they humbly asked that their arms and boats might be restored. "The memorial is highly arrogant, insidious, and insulting," said the haughty Lawrence; "guns do not belong to you by law, for you are Roman Catholics." After consultation with the people, the deputies offered to swear unconditionally. Then they were told, as they had once refused, now they should not be permitted to swear.

A calamity, as unexpected as it was dreadful, was at hand. By proclamation, "the old men, and young men, as well as all lads over ten years of age," were called upon to assemble, on a certain day, the fifth of September, at certain posts in their respective districts, to hear the "wishes of the king." The call was obeyed. At Grand Pre alone more than four hundred unsuspecting and unarmed men and boys came together. They were gathered into the church, its doors were closed, and Winslow, the commander, announced to them the decision of the British government. They were to be banished forever from their native province; from the fields they had cultivated, from the pleasant homes where they had spent their youth. They might not emigrate to lands offered them among friends in Canada, lest they should add strength to the French. They were to be driven forth as beggars among their enemies, a people of a strange language and of a different religion. They were retained as prisoners, till the ships which were to bear them away were ready. As soon as possible, their wives and little children were also seized. On the day of embarkation, the young men and boys were first ordered on board the ship; as their parents and friends were not allowed to go with them, they refused, fearing that if thus separated, they might never meet again—a thought they could not bear. But resistance and entreaties were useless; driven by the bayonets, they were marched from the church



to the ship, which was a mile distant; their way was lined with weeping friends, mothers, and sisters, who prayed for blessings on their heads, and they themselves wept and prayed and mournfully chanted psalms as they passed along. Then in the same manner the fathers were driven on board another ship. The wives and children were left behind; these were kept for weeks near the sea without proper shelter or food, shivering in December's cold, till ships could come to take them away. "The soldiers hate them, and if they can but find pretext will kill them." Thus wrote an English officer who was engaged in this work of cruelty.

In some places the object of the proclamation was suspected, and the men and youth did not assemble. In the vicinity of Annapolis some fled to the woods, with their wives and children, some went to Canada, while others threw themselves upon the hospitality of the Indians, from whom they received a hearty welcome. That these poor people, who had fled to the woods, might be compelled by starvation and exposure to give themselves up, orders were issued to lay waste their homes, and the whole country was made a desolation, from the village and its church, to the peasant's cottage and barn. "For successive evenings the cattle assembled round the smouldering ruins, as if in anxious expectation of the return of their masters; while all night long the faithful watch dogs howled over the scene of desolation, and mourned alike the hand that had fed, and the house that had sheltered them."<sup>1</sup>

Seven thousand of these poor people were transported and cast helpless on the shores of the English colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia. Families were separated never to meet again. From time to time, for many years afterward, advertisements in the newspapers of the colonies told the tale of sor-

<sup>1</sup>Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia.

row. Now they inquired for a lost wife or husband, now brothers and sisters inquired for each other; parents for their children, and children for their parents. When any in after years attempted to return they were driven off. Some of those taken to Georgia could endure their banishment no longer. They obtained boats, and coasted along the shore toward home; but, alas! when almost at the end of their perilous voyage, they were ordered away. Some wandered to Louisiana, where lands on the river above New Orleans, still known as the Acadian coast, were assigned to them.

This work of wanton cruelty was done by men, who unblushingly congratulated the approving king that the work of desolation had been so effectively accomplished—a work, which, for its treachery and cowardly cruelty, deserves the reprobation of every human breast. “I know not that the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia. The hand of the English official seemed under a spell with regard to them, and was never uplifted but to curse them.”<sup>1</sup>

The expedition against Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, had been intrusted to General William Johnson. His troops were drawn precipitately from Massachusetts and Connecticut; a regiment from New Hampshire joined them at Albany. At the head of boat navigation on the Hudson, a fort was built which, in honor of their commander, whom they revered as “a brave and virtuous man,” the soldiers named Fort Lyman. But when Johnson assumed the command he ungenerously changed the name to Fort Edward. Leaving a garrison in this fort, Johnson moved with about five thousand men to the head of Lake George, and there formed a camp, intending to descend into Lake Champlain.

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft.

Hendrick, the celebrated Mohawk chief, with his warriors, were among these troops. Israel Putnam, too, was there, as a captain, and John Stark as a lieutenant, each taking lessons in warfare.

The French were not idle; the district of Montreal made the most strenuous exertions to meet the invading foe. All the men who were able to bear arms were called into active service; so that to gather in the harvest, their places were supplied by men from other districts. The energetic Baron Dieskau resolved, by a bold attack, to terrify the invaders. Taking with him two hundred regulars, and about twelve hundred Canadians and Indians, he set out to capture Fort Edward; but as he drew near, the Indians heard that it was defended by cannon, which they greatly dreaded, and they refused to advance. He now changed his plan, and resolved to attack Johnson's camp, which was supposed to be without cannon.

Meantime scouts had reported to Johnson, that they had seen roads made through the woods in the direction of Fort Edward. Not knowing the movements of Dieskau, a detachment of a thousand men, under Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Massachusetts, and two hundred Mohawks, under Hendrick, marched to relieve that post. The French had information of their approach, and placed themselves in ambush. They were concealed among the thick bushes of a swamp, on the one side, and rocks and trees on the other. The English recklessly marched into the defile. They were vigorously attacked, and thrown into confusion. Hendrick was almost instantly killed, and in a short time Williams fell also. The detachment commenced to retreat, occasionally halting to check their pursuers. The firing was heard in the camp; as the sound drew nearer and nearer, it was evident the detachment was retreating. The drums beat to arms, trees

were hastily felled and thrown together to form a breastwork, upon which were placed a few cannon, just arrived from the Hudson. Scarcely were these preparations made, when the panting fugitives appeared in sight, hotly pursued by the French and Indians. Intending to enter the camp with the fugitives, Dieskau urged forward his men with the greatest impetuosity. The moment the fugitives were past the muzzles of the cannon, they opened with a tremendous shower of grape, which scattered the terrified Indians and checked the Canadians, but the regulars pushed on. A determined contest ensued, which lasted five hours, until the regulars were nearly all slain, while the Indians and Canadians did but little execution; they remained at a respectful distance among the trees. At length the enemy began to retreat, and the Americans leaped over the breastwork and pursued them with great vigor. That same evening, after the pursuit had ceased, as the French were retreating, they were suddenly attacked with great spirit by the New Hampshire regiment, which was on its way from Fort Edward. They were so panic-stricken by this new assault, that they abandoned everything, and fled for their lives.

Dieskau had been wounded once or twice at the commencement of the battle, but he never left his post; two of his soldiers generously attempted to carry him out of danger, but when in the act one of them received his death wound; he urged the other to flee. In the midst of flying bullets he calmly seated himself on the stump of a neighboring tree. He was taken prisoner, kindly treated, and sent to England, where he died.

Johnson was slightly wounded at the commencement of the battle, and prudently retired from danger. To General Lyman belongs the honor of the victory, yet Johnson, in his report of the battle, did



not even mention his name. Johnson, for his exertions on that day, was made a baronet, and received from royal favor a gift of twenty-five thousand dollars. He had friends at court, but Lyman was unknown.

Colonel Ephraim Williams, who fell in this battle, while passing through Albany had taken the precaution to make his will, in which he bequeathed property to found a free school in western Massachusetts. That school has since grown into Williams College—a monument more honorable than one of granite, one fraught with blessings to future generations.

Johnson, instead of pushing on to take advantage of the victory, loitered in his camp, and finally built and garrisoned a useless wooden fort, which he named William Henry.

As has been mentioned, the retreat of Dunbar left the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania subject to the horrors of savage warfare. Washington was intrusted with their defense, but so few men had he at his command, and they so scattered, as to afford but little protection. The distant settlers of Virginia were driven in, and the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah became almost a desolation. Governor Dinwiddie, as an apology for not furnishing more soldiers, wrote: "We dare not part with any of our white men to any distance, as we must have a watchful eye over our negro slaves." In one of his letters, Washington says: "The supplicating tears of women and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that for the people's ease, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the treacherous enemy."

The village of Kittanning, twenty or thirty miles up the Alleghany, above Fort Du Quesne, was the headquarters of a notable Indian chief, known as Captain Jacobs. Incited by the French, he and his bands made many murderous incursions against the

settlements of Pennsylvania. His associate was the Delaware chief Shingis. Benjamin Franklin, who had been appointed colonel by the governor, had organized the Pennsylvania militia to protect the frontiers, and after his resignation, Colonel John Armstrong, afterward a major-general in the Revolutionary war, was chosen in his place. He resolved to destroy these Indians and their village. Three hundred Pennsylvanians volunteered for the enterprise. In the latter part of September they set out on horseback across the mountains, and in a few days came into the vicinity of Kittanning, at night. They heard the savages carousing and yelling; they left their horses, approached the village, and arranged the order of attack. The night was warm, the Indians soon began to separate, some to sleep in the corn-fields near by, and some in wigwams. As day began to dawn, the Americans surrounded the party, and, at a given signal, rushed to the attack. The Indians were taken by surprise, but soon the voice of Jacobs was heard loud above the din, cheering on his warriors, and shouting, "We are men, we will not be prisoners." The wigwams were set on fire, and warriors were heard singing their death-song in the midst of the flames. Jacobs attempted to break through the surrounding foe, but his career was cut short by a rifle-ball. This nest of savage murderers was entirely broken up; the survivors went further west, and for a season the frontiers had peace.

Lord Loudon was appointed a sort of viceroy of all the colonies. He sent General Abercrombie as his lieutenant, having suspended Governor Shirley, and ordered him to repair to England. Abercrombie arrived in June, and brought with him several British regiments. It was confidently expected that something important would now be done. These royal gentlemen had an army of seven thousand men at Al-

bany, but, as the Frenchmen had said, they were "slow and dilatory,"—they spent the summer in adjusting the rank of the officers. The soldiers of the colonies, though they had, by their indomitable courage, saved the remnants of the British army on the banks of the Monongahela, though, at Lake George, they had driven the enemy before them, and had defended their soil and maintained the honor of the English name, yet they were not permitted to select their own officers, and if they were appointed by the colonial governors, those of the same rank by royal appointment took the precedence. These were the petty annoyances dictated by little minds, that aided so much in alienating the colonists from the mother country, and in the end leading them to independence.

While the English were thus trifling, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, was acting. With five thousand Frenchmen, Canadians, and Indians, he darted across the lake, and suddenly presented himself at the gates of Fort Ontario, at the mouth of the Oswego. He met with a vigorous resistance; not until they had lost all hope of receiving aid, and their brave commander, Colonel Mercer, was killed, did the garrison surrender. An immense amount of military stores fell into the hands of Montcalm; he sent the captured flags to adorn the churches of Canada, and to please the Iroquois, who promised neutrality, he demolished the fort. Though it was known that this important post was threatened, yet no means were taken to relieve it. Thus Loudon planned and counterplanned, accomplished nothing, and then withdrew from his arduous labors into winter quarters. He demanded free quarters for his officers of the citizens of Albany, New York and Philadelphia. As the demand was "contrary to the laws of England and the liberties of America," they refused to accede to it.

He threatened to bring his soldiers and compel them to submit to the outrage. The citizens, in their weakness, raised subscriptions to support for the winter those who had wasted the resources of the country. Thus a military chief invaded, not merely the political rights of the people, but the sanctities of their domestic life.

Montcalm was undisturbed in making preparations to capture Fort William Henry, before which he appeared, the next year, with a large French and Indian force. The garrison numbered about three thousand men, under Colonel Monroe, a brave officer, who, when summoned to surrender, indignantly refused, and immediately sent to General Webbe, at Fort Edward, fifteen miles distant, for aid. He could have relieved Monroe, for he had four thousand men at his disposal, but when Putnam obtained permission to go to the aid of the fort, and had proceeded some miles with his rangers, Webbe recalled him. Then he sent a letter to Monroe advising him to surrender. This letter fell into the hands of Montcalm, who was on the point of raising the siege, but he now sent the letter to Monroe, with another demand to surrender. The brave veteran would not capitulate, but held out till half his guns were rendered useless. Montcalm was too brave and generous not to appreciate nobleness in others, and he granted him the privilege of marching out with the honors of war. The only pledge he asked, was that the soldiers should not engage in war against the French for eighteen months. They were to retain their private property, and Canadian and Indian prisoners were to be restored.

Montcalm held a council of the Indians, who consented to the terms of the treaty, though they were sadly disappointed in their hopes of plunder. He refused them rum, and thus he could restrain them;



but, unfortunately the night after the surrender they obtained it from the English. In the morning they were frantic from the effects of intoxication, and when the garrison were leaving their camp, they fell upon the stragglers. The French officers did all they could to restrain them, and some were even wounded in their exertions to save the English soldiers from savage violence. Montcalm, in his agony, cried, "Kill me, but spare the English; they are under my protection." Instead of an orderly retreat to Fort Edward, it was a flight.

Thus the French, with a population in Canada, not one-twentieth part as great as that of the English colonies, seemed triumphant everywhere. Was it strange that the colonists began to lose their respect for those sent to protect them from their enemies—especially for the officers? They believed the interference of the home government hindered the advancement of their cause, while the majority of the royalist governors seemed to be actuated by no worthier motive than that of promoting their own interests.

Though the French were thus victorious, and possessed the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and apparently all the continent, except a little strip along the Atlantic coast, yet Canada was exhausted. The struggle was virtually over. Her men had been drawn to the battle-field, while their farms were left untilled, and now famine was beginning to press upon the people. Their cattle and sheep were destroyed, and horseflesh was made to supply the place of beef; no aid could come from France, as nearly all intercourse was cut off by the ever-present British cruisers. The French owed their success, not to their strength, but to the imbecility of the English commanders.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1757—1768

### FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, CONTINUED

William Pitt, Prime Minister—Lord Amherst, Commander-in-Chief—Plan of Operations—Louisburg Captured—Abercrombie on Lake George; Repulse and Retreat—Bradstreet Captures Fort Frontenac—Expedition Against Fort Du Quesne—Colonel Grant—Washington Takes Possession of the Fort; Resigns His Commission—Ticonderoga Abandoned; the French Retire to Canada—Wolfe Appears Before Quebec—Exertions of Montcalm—The British on the Heights of Abraham—The Battle—Deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm; Their Memories—Quebec Capitulates—The Cherokee War—Destruction of Their Crops and Villages; Their Revenge—Pontiac; His Character and Plans—Desolations Along the Frontiers—General Bouquet—Pontiac's Death.

The people of England were not indifferent spectators of these failures; they noticed the feeble manner in which the war was conducted, and attributed the want of success to the inefficiency of those in command.

Through their influence, William Pitt, one of themselves, not of the aristocracy, was called to the head of affairs. He appreciated the character and patriotism of the colonies. Instead of devising measures that would impoverish them, he, at once, assumed the expenses of the war; announced that the money they had already spent for that purpose should be refunded, and that for the future such expenses would be borne by the home government; also arms and clothing should be furnished the soldiers who would enlist. This act of justice brought into the field fifty thousand men—a number greater than that of the entire male population of Canada at that time.

Lord Jeffrey Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army. He had for his lieutenant the young and talented James Wolfe, who, although but thirty-one years of age, had spent eighteen of those years in the army, where, by his noble bearing, he had won for himself the admiration of both friends and foes.

According to the general plan, Amherst himself was to head the expedition against Louisburg and Quebec; while General Forbes was to capture Fort Du Quesne and take possession of the valley of the Ohio, and Abercrombie to take Ticonderoga, the French stronghold on Lake Champlain. With Abercrombie was associated Lord Howe, who was characterized as the soul of the enterprise.

On the 8th of June, Amherst landed with his forces near the city of Louisburg. Under the cover of a fire from the ships, Wolfe led the first division. He forbade a gun to be fired, urged on the rowers, and in the face of the enemy leaped into the water and, followed by his men, waded to the shore. The French deserted their outposts, and retired to the fortress in the town. After a bombardment of fifty days, when the French shipping in the harbor was destroyed, and all hope of receiving assistance at an end, the fortress surrendered. At the same time were given up the islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward, five thousand prisoners, and an immense amount of military stores.

Abercrombie and Lord Howe advanced against Ticonderoga. Their army, which amounted to seven thousand English and nine thousand Americans, assembled at the head of Lake George. They passed in flat-boats down to the foot of the lake, where they disembarked and hurried on toward Ticonderoga; but through the ignorance of their guide, missed their way, and the advance fell into an ambuscade of

a French scouting party. The enemy was soon put to flight, but Lord Howe fell at the head of his men. His death threw a gloom over the camp—the soldiers had confidence in no other leader. Their forebodings were soon realized. The British engineer reconnoitred the French works, and reported them as weak; but Stark, who knew their strength, affirmed they were strong and well furnished. Abercrombie believed his engineer, and without waiting for his artillery, he ordered an attack. His soldiers performed prodigies of valor, but were forced to retire, with a loss of two thousand of their number. In this battle was wounded Charles Lee, then a captain, and afterward a major-general in the Revolutionary army. The indefatigable Montcalm had disposed his small army to the very best advantage, and was present wherever he was specially needed. Abercrombie ordered his men to attempt an impossibility, but judiciously kept himself out of danger. The English army was yet four to one of the French, and could have conquered with the aid of the cannon which had been brought up, yet Abercrombie hastily retired. As Montcalm's troops were few and exhausted, he did not attempt to pursue him.

The monotony of disasters was disturbed by Colonel Bradstreet of New York, who, after much solicitation, obtained permission to go against Fort Frontenac, which, from its position at the foot of Lake Ontario, commanded that lake and the St. Lawrence. It was a central point for trading with the Indians; a great magazine which supplied all the posts on the upper lakes and Ohio with military stores. With twenty-seven hundred men, all Americans, principally from New York and Massachusetts, Bradstreet passed rapidly and secretly to Oswego, and thence across the lake in open boats, and landed within a mile of the fort. The majority of the gar-



rison, terrified at the sudden appearance of enemies, fled; the next day the remainder surrendered. There was found an immense amount of military stores, some of them destined for Fort Du Quesne, and a fleet of nine armed vessels, which held the command of the lake. The fort was razed to its foundations, two of the vessels were laden with stores and brought to Oswego; the remaining stores and ships were destroyed.

The troops raised in Pennsylvania for the expedition under General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne were assembled at Raystown, on the Juniata. Washington was at Cumberland, with the Virginian regiment. His plan was to march directly upon the fort by the road which Braddock had made. This common-sense plan was rejected, and the suggestions of some land speculators adopted, and Forbes ordered a new road to be cut through the wilderness further north.

General Bouquet with the advance passed over the Laurel Hill, and established a post at Loyal Hanna. Without permission he despatched Major Grant with eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginians to reconnoitre in the vicinity of Fort Du Quesne. Grant was permitted to approach unmolested, though the French knew from their scouts of all his movements. As he drew near, he sent a party to take a plan of the fort, and placed Major Lewis with the Virginians to guard the baggage, as if they were not to be trusted in the contest. Not a gun was fired from the fort. Grant self-complacently attributed this to the dread his regulars had inspired. All this time the Indians lay quietly in ambush, waiting for the signal to commence the attack. Presently out rushed the garrison, and attacked the Highlanders in front, while in a moment the fearful war-whoop arose on both flanks. Terrified at the un-

usual contest, they were thrown into confusion; their bewildered officers began to manoeuvre them as if in the open field. Major Lewis with some of his party hastened to the rescue, and there fought hand to hand with the savages. The detachment, overpowered by numbers, was completely routed, and Grant and Lewis were both made prisoners. The fugitives soon reached the place where they left the baggage. Captain Bullit hastily formed a barricade with the wagons, behind which he waited the approach of the pursuers. When they were within a few yards, the Virginians poured in a fire so direct and deadly as to check them. They soon rallied and again approached. This time, Captain Bullit and his men advanced, as if to surrender, but when within eight yards he again poured in an effective fire, and immediately charged bayonet. The pursuers were so astonished at the suddenness and manner of attack that they fled in dismay, while the Virginians retreated with all speed.

When the news of this disaster reached the main army, it well-nigh ruined the whole enterprise; as a council of war decided to give up the attempt for that year, as it was now November, and there were yet fifty miles of unbroken forest between them and the fort. Just then some prisoners were brought in, from whom the defenseless condition of the fort was learned. Washington was given the command of a division with which to push forward. In a few days they arrived in the neighborhood of Du Quesne. Instead of meeting with vigorous opposition, they were surprised to learn that the place had been abandoned the day before. The French commander had blown up his magazines, burned every building that would burn, and with his company gone on board of flat-boats and floated down the Ohio. On the twenty-fifth of November, Washington marched into the

deserted fort, and planted the English colors. An impulse of grateful feeling changed the name to Fort Pitt—since Pittsburgh, in honor of the illustrious man—the first of English statesmen, who appreciated the character of the American colonists, and who was willing to do them justice. Situated at the head of the Ohio, in a region celebrated for its agricultural and mineral wealth, and settled by a moral and industrious population, it has far exceeded in importance any other acquisition made during the war. A fit monument to the memory of the “Great Commoner.”

The object of the campaign thus secured, Washington, leaving two Virginia regiments to garrison the fort, resigned his commission and retired to private life. In the mean time he had been elected a member of the House of Burgesses. A few months afterward, on the opening of the session, the House, by vote, resolved to receive the youthful champion with some befitting manifestation of its regard. Accordingly, when he took his seat as a member, the Speaker addressed him, giving him thanks for the military service he had rendered his country. Taken by surprise, Washington rose to reply, but words were wanting; he faltered and blushed. “Sit down, Mr. Washington,” kindly said the Speaker; “your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess.”

This year closed with great advantages to the English. The cunning Indians—still true to the winning side—began to desert the French, and to form treaties of peace or neutrality with their enemies. The comprehensive mind of Pitt was devising plans to crush the French power in America. He promptly paid all the expenses incurred by the colonists during the past year, and they with alacrity entered into his schemes. Wolfe was to ascend the St. Law-

rence, Amherst was to advance by way of Lake Champlain, and capture Montreal, and then join Wolfe before Quebec; while General Prideaux was to capture Fort Niagara, and pass down Lake Ontario to Montreal.

As Amherst advanced against Ticonderoga, the French abandoned that post, and the others as he approached; he wasted his time in fortifying the places deserted by the enemy, as if they who were so exhausted as to be scarcely able to get out of his way, would ever return! Though General Prideaux was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a gun, yet Sir William Johnson, on whom the command devolved, took Niagara; and thus the chain which joined the French forts of Canada, with those of the valley of the Mississippi, was broken forever.

The fleet and troops designed against Quebec, assembled at Louisburg. In the latter part of June the armament arrived at the Isle of Orleans, upon which the troops immediately landed. The rock on which stood the citadel of St. Louis, could be seen to the west looming up more than three hundred feet, bidding defiance to the invaders. In the rear were the Heights of Abraham, a plain extending for miles, while all along the shore the high cliffs seemed to be an impregnable defense.

To meet this force, Montcalm had only a few enfeebled battalions and Canadian militia. The Indians held themselves aloof. The English fleet consisted of twenty-two ships of the line, and as many frigates. As master of one of these ships was Captain James Cook, afterward celebrated as the discoverer of the many isles of the Pacific. Under Wolfe were four young and ardent commanders, Robert Monckton, afterward governor of New York; George Townshend, and James Murray, and also Colonel Howe, afterward Sir William, who for a



time commanded the British army in the American Revolution.

Quebec, situated on a peninsula between the St. Lawrence and the River St. Charles, was defended on three sides by these rivers, leaving only the west exposed. The lower town was on the beach, while the upper was on the cliff two hundred feet above. The high cliffs of the north shore of the St. Lawrence were deemed a sufficient defense. It was thought impossible for an army to scale them. Below on the St. Lawrence, between the St. Charles and the Montmorenci rivers, was Montcalm's camp, guarded by many floating batteries and ships of war. But the naval superiority of the English soon rendered them masters of the water.

The French troops were driven from Point Levi, directly opposite Quebec, and Wolfe erected batteries on that spot, and began to bombard the lower town, which was soon reduced to ashes; but owing to the distance, the fortress and the upper town could not be injured. Wolfe then passed over to the north side of the river, below the Montmorenci, intending to pass that stream, and force Montcalm to a battle.

When this design was carried into effect, the first division, consisting of the grenadiers, rashly rushed on to storm the French lines before the second division could come up to support them. They were repulsed, with a loss of nearly five hundred men. Diversions were also made above the town to induce the enemy to come into the open field, but without success. Montcalm merely sent De Bougainville with fifteen hundred men to guard against these attacks.

The repulse at Montmorenci occasioned the sensitive Wolfe much suffering. He looked for the tardy Amherst, but in vain! No tidings came from him, and it seemed as if the enterprise, the first under his own command, was about to fail. He was thrown into a

violent fever by his anxiety. As a last resort, it was resolved, in a council held around his bed, to scale the Heights of Abraham. In order to do this, the French must be deceived. Therefore Captain Cook was sent to take soundings and place buoys opposite Montcalm's camp, as if that was to be the special object of attack. Meantime, the shore for many miles above the town, was carefully examined. At one place was found a little indentation in the bank, from which a path wound up the cliff,—there they determined to make the attempt. This is now known as Wolfe's Cove. The troops were put on shipboard and suddenly sailed up the river, as if intending to pass beyond the French lines and there land. At night the ships lay to, and the troops, in boats, dropped down with the tide to Wolfe's Cove, followed by the ships designed to cover their landing, if necessary. As they passed, a French sentinel hailed them with the inquiry, "Who goes there?" "La France," answered a captain. "What regiment?" "The Queen's"—that being one of the regiments up the river with Bougainville. The sentinel was deceived. They passed on to the Cove, and quietly landing began to grope their way up the cliff, clinging to the shrubs and rocks for support. In the morning the entire army was on the Heights of Abraham, ready for battle.

Montcalm was thunderstruck, when he heard the news. "It must surely be," said he, "a small party come to pillage, and then retire." More correct information revealed to him the whole truth. There was no time to be lost. He sent immediately for the detachment of Bougainville, which was fifteen miles up the river. The Indians and Canadians advanced first, and subjected the English to an irregular, and galling fire. Wolfe ordered his men to reserve their fire for the French regulars, who were rapidly approaching. When they were within forty

yards, the English poured upon them a stream of musketry, aided by grape-shot from a few guns dragged up the cliff by the sailors. It was a fierce conflict. The respective commanders were opposite to each other. Wolfe, although wounded twice, continued to give his orders with clearness; but as he advanced with the grenadiers, who were to make their final charge with the bayonet, he received a ball in the breast. He knew the wound was mortal, and when falling said to the officer nearest to him: "Let not my brave fellows see me fall." He was carried to the rear; when asked if he would have a surgeon, he answered: "It is needless; it is all over with me." As his life was fast ebbing, the cry was raised—"See, they run! they run!" "Who run?" asked the dying man. "The enemy, sir," was the answer. "Do they run all ready?" he asked with evident surprise. Summoning his failing energies, "Go one of you, to Colonel Burton," said he; "tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed to Charles river, to cut off the retreat by the bridge." Then turning upon his side, he murmured, "Now God be praised, I die happy." These were the last words of the young hero, in whom were centered the hopes of his soldiers and of his country. Monckton was severely wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend, who, content with being master of the field, called the troops from the pursuit. Just at the close of the battle Bougainville appeared with his division; but the contest was declined.

There is a peculiar interest attached to the name and character of Wolfe. A mind sensitive in its emotions and vigorous in its thoughts, animated his feeble body. He maintained a love for the quieter paths of literature, even amid the excitements of the camp. On the clear star-light night preceding the battle, as the boat in which he was seated with his

officers was silently floating down the St. Lawrence, he recited to them that classic poem, Gray's "Elegy in a Country Church-yard;" then just published. Death seems to have already cast its dark shadow upon him and doubtless many of the finer passages of the poem were in accordance with his subdued and melancholy emotions. Then for a time the aspirations of the man of feeling and poetic taste triumphed over the sterner ambition of the warrior, and at its close he exclaimed: "I would rather be the author of that poem than to take Quebec tomorrow."

The brave and generous Montcalm was mortally wounded near the close of the battle. When carried into the city, the surgeon informed him that he could survive only a few hours. "So much the better," he calmly replied, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." When asked his advice about defending the city, he answered: "To your keeping I commend the honor of France. I will neither give orders nor interfere any further; I have business of greater moment to attend to; my time is short; I shall pass this night with God, and prepare myself for death." He then wrote a letter to the English commander, commending to his favor the French prisoners. The next morning he died. That generation passed away and with it the animosity which existed between the conquerors and the conquered. The united people of another generation erected a granite monument, on which they inscribed the names of Montcalm and Wolfe.

Five days after the battle Quebec surrendered. There were great rejoicings both in America and England. Praises were lavished upon Pitt. He in Parliament replied, "I will aim to serve my country, but the more a man is versed in business, the more he finds the hand of Providence everywhere." The next year an attempt was made by the French to



recover Quebec, but it failed. An overwhelming force was brought against Montreal. Resistance was vain, and Vaudreuil, the governor, surrendered all the French stations on the Lakes. The troops were to be sent home, and the Canadians, protected in their property, were to enjoy their religious privileges. Thus passed away the French power in Canada. Dependent upon the mother country, the inhabitants had never exercised the right of self-government; they lacked the energy essential to success as an independent people. They have assimilated but little with their conquerors. They still preserve that gay simplicity of manners, so characteristic of their nation, and an ardent attachment to the church of their fathers.

Meantime disturbances had occurred on the southwest. The Cherokees had always been the friends of the English, and had undertaken to protect their frontiers south of the Potomac, yet for this their warriors, when about to return home, received no reward from the government—not even supplies of food for their journey. What the State failed to do was done by Washington and his officers, who supplied their wants. The next year more Cherokees joined the expedition under Forbes against Fort Du Quesne. As they were returning home along the western borders of Virginia, to avoid starvation they helped themselves to what they wanted. This led to quarrels with the backwoodsmen, who killed and scalped some of their number. When this was told in the land of the Cherokees, it caused sorrow, indignation, and alarm; the women, relatives of those who were slain, poured forth deep and bitter wailings for the dead; the young warriors, indignant, armed themselves for revenge; the old men cautioned and counselled, and did all in their power to prevent war, but in vain; two white men fell victims to the rage

of the young warriors. Tiftoe and five other chiefs went to Charleston to beg for peace, and to heal differences. The governor, the haughty and arbitrary Lyttleton, demanded that the young men who, according to the ideas of the sons of the forest, had vindicated the honor of their nation, "should be delivered up or put to death in their own land." This, the Cherokees thought, would only add fuel to the flame already kindled. The legislature decided unanimously that there was no cause for war. News came from the frontier that all was peaceful; "there were no bad talks." The obstinate governor persisted in his demand, and created more disturbance. Then he told the chiefs who wished for peace to come to him and hold a talk, and promised them safe conduct to and from Charleston. Trusting to his word, the great warrior Oconostata came with thirty others. But Lyttleton must obtain for himself the glory of a successful expedition against the Cherokees. He called out the militia in spite of the remonstrances of the people, of the legislature, and of his own council, and basely retained as prisoners, those who had trusted his word. He marched into the country of the Cherokees, forced a treaty from the feeble old chief, who had no authority to make one, and then returned in fancied triumph. Oconostata and a few others were liberated. The remainder Lyttleton ordered to be kept prisoners at Fort Prince George till twenty-four warriors should be given up to him. Oconostata made an attempt to liberate his friends. In this effort a white man was killed; then, in revenge, the garrison murdered the prisoners. Now the rage of the Cherokees knew no bounds. They exclaimed: "The spirits of our murdered brothers are flying around us screaming for vengeance." The legislature strongly condemned the perfidious conduct of Lyttleton, and asserted their "birth-rights as

British subjects," and affirmed that he had "violated their undoubted privileges." Yet this very man received the highest commendations from the "Board of Trade."

The Cherokees, driven to desperation by such treatment, called to their aid the Muscogees, and sent to Louisiana for military supplies. The Carolinians applied to General Amherst, who sent them twelve hundred men, principally Highlanders, under General Montgomery. They, with the Carolinians, pressed forward, by forced marches, into the land of the Cherokees. Why give the details of desolated settlements? Village after village was destroyed, and fertile valleys laid waste. On the upper Savannah was the beautiful vale of Keowee, "the delight of the Cherokees." They had become so far civilized as to build comfortable houses, and to surround them with cultivated fields. Suddenly appeared the invaders. The great majority of the Indians, after an attempt at defense, fled, and from the distant mountain-tops saw the enemy burning their houses and destroying their crops. "I cannot help pitying them a little," writes Colonel Grant; "their villages are agreeably situated, their houses neatly built. There were everywhere astonishing magazines of corn, which were all consumed."

After this dash at the Cherokees, Montgomery immediately retreated to the north, as ordered by Amherst. The Indians were not subdued, but enraged; they continued to ravage the back settlements of the Carolinas.

Immediately after the surrender of Canada, all the French stations on the lakes were occupied by the conquerors, and the little stockade posts throughout all that region, and in the valley of the Ohio, were garrisoned by a few men, in many instances not exceeding twenty. The French, either as traders or

as religious teachers, had won the confidence and the affection of the Indians, by a friendly intercourse extending through more than half a century. Was it strange that the contrast appeared great to them, between these friends and companions and the domineering English soldiers, who insulted their priests and vilified their religion? The French had prohibited the trade in rum, but the English introduced the traffic, and the demoralization of the Indians commenced. The capture of Fort Du Quesne was the signal for a torrent of emigration, which poured over the mountains into the valleys of the Monongahela and the Alleghany. The Indians feared the pale-faces would drive them from their homes.

Adopted into the tribe of the Ottawas, was a Catawba, who had been brought from the South as a prisoner, but who had, by his genius and bravery, risen to be a chief. He had the most unbounded influence over his own and other tribes, and was styled "the king and lord of all the country of the northwest." "How dare you come to visit my country without my leave?" demanded he of the first English officer who came to take possession of the French forts. Such was Pontiac, the Philip of the northwest, who, in the war which bears his name, made the last great struggle for the independence of the Red Man. This master spirit planned, and partially executed, one of the most comprehensive schemes ever conceived by Indian sagacity to expel the invaders, and maintain his own authority as "king and lord" of all that region. He induced the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Senecas, the Miamis, and many lesser tribes, who roamed over the vast region in the basin of the upper lakes, in the valley of the Ohio, and a portion of that of the Mississippi, to join in the conspiracy. He sent a prophet through the land to proclaim that the Great Spirit had revealed to him,



"that if the English were permitted to dwell in their midst, then the white man's diseases and poisons would utterly destroy them." This conspiracy was more than a year in forming, yet it was kept a profound secret.

Detroit had the largest garrison, was the great centre for the trade of the upper lakes, and most important in its influence. Here the French were numerous; they tilled their farms, as well as engaged in the traffic of furs. Pontiac desired to obtain possession of the fort. He intimated that he was coming with his warriors to have a "talk" with his English brothers. Meantime, Gladwin, the commander, had learned of the conspiracy. Finding that the plot was discovered, Pontiac threw off the mask, and boldly attacked the fort, but without success. This was the commencement of a series of surprises; the Indians, in the short space of three weeks, captured every station west of Niagara, except Detroit and Pittsburgh. The soldiers of the garrisons were nearly all put to death, more than one hundred traders were murdered and scalped in the wilderness, and more than five hundred families, after losing hundreds of their members, were driven from their homes on the frontiers. A large force from several tribes concentrated around Pittsburgh, the most important post in the valley of the Ohio; yet the brave garrison could not be caught by their wiles, nor conquered by their arms. Their ravages, in the meanwhile, extended to all the settlements and posts on the head-waters of the Ohio, and on the lakes to the region between the Mississippi and the Ohio.

General Bouquet was sent from Eastern Pennsylvania to relieve Fort Ligonier, just at the western foot of the mountains, and Pittsburgh. His army consisted of not more than five hundred effective men, principally Scotch Highlanders. They had with them

a train of wagons, drawn by oxen, and pack-horses laden with military stores and necessary provisions, and a drove of beef cattle. Passing through a region desolated by the savages, they saw the remains of burnt cabins, and the harvests standing uncut in the fields.

When he arrived at Ligonier, Bouquet could learn nothing from the west, as all intercourse had been cut off. Leaving there his wagons and cattle, he pushed forward to ascertain the fate of Pittsburgh. The Indians besieging that place, heard of his approach, and they resolved to place themselves in ambush, and defeat his army. As soon as the battle began, the Highlanders dashed at them with the bayonet, and the Indians fled; but when the pursuit slackened they rallied, and were again repulsed. At length, the number of the savages increased so much that they completely surrounded the Highlanders, who, during the night, encamped on the ridge of a hill. In the morning they could not advance, for their wounded men and baggage would fall into the hands of the enemy. Placing two companies in ambush, Bouquet began to retreat, and immediately, with exulting yells, the Indians rushed on in pursuit, but when they came to the right point, those in ambush charged them on both sides, and those retreating wheeled and charged also. Panic-stricken by the suddenness of the attack, the savages broke and fled. The division then moved on to Pittsburgh. From that day the valley of the Ohio was free from Indian violence. The stream of emigration began again to pour over the mountains. The tribes, disheartened, began to make treaties and promise peace. Pontiac would make no treaty, nor acknowledge himself a friend of the English. He left his home and tribe and went to the country of the Illinois, where he was assassinated.

For nearly three-quarters of a century a dispute had existed between the authorities of the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland in respect to their boundary line. Finally, a compromise was agreed upon by which a starting-point was to be taken "fifteen English statute miles south of the latitude of the most southerly part of Philadelphia." This point was to be on the circumference or tangent of a circle whose center was New Castle—now in Delaware—and radius twelve miles; from that "fifteen-mile point a line was to be run due west across the Susquehannah, etc., to the utmost longitude of Pennsylvania." This circle sweeps round from the west to the northeast, and is said to be the only boundary line in the world in which the circle is used.

The king sent out from London two learned astronomers—Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon—to run the line. They commenced their labors, and in five years made a report of their progress. Troubles with the Indians interfered, and they could not finish the work, which was completed fifteen years afterward by other hands. The English surveyors cut openings through the woods; at the end of every mile they set up a stone, on one side of which the letter "P" was cut in, and on the other the letter "M"; and every five miles a stone brought from England, but instead of the letters were engraved the coats-of-arms of the Penns and of Lord Baltimore. This line is artificial, not a mountain nor a river is used—it passes over both. No boundary has marked greater contrasts in society and its advancement than the famous "Mason and Dixon's line."

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1760

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLONIES

Religious Influences Among the Earlier Settlers—The Later Emigrants; Their Influence—Love of Domestic Life—Laws enjoining Morality—Systems of Education; Common Schools—John Calvin—The Southerner; the Northerner—The Anglo-Saxon Element; the Norman—Influences in Pennsylvania; in New York—Diversity of Ancestry.

The conquest of Canada had removed apprehensions of war with France, or of incursions by the Indians. The colonists naturally turned to their own affairs. They were poor and in debt; a seven years' war had been within their borders; their men had been drawn from the labor of industry to the battlefield. Yet that war, with its evils, had conferred benefits. It had made known to them their strength, and success had given them confidence.

Before relating the events that led to the Revolution, let us take a rapid survey of the people, who were soon to take their place among the nations of the earth.

From the first they were an intelligent and a religious people. They were untrammelled in the exercise of their religion, and its spirit molded public sentiment in all the colonies, whether settled by the Puritan or the Churchman, by the Dutch Calvinist, or the Quaker, by the Huguenot or the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. The two latter were of more recent emigration; they did not diminish the high tone of morals already sustained by the earlier settlers.

The Huguenots came in small companies, and seldom settled together in large companies, but mingled



with the colonists, and conformed more and more to their customs, and, in time, became identified with them in interests. Calvinist in doctrine, they generally united with either the Episcopal or Presbyterian churches, and by their piety and industrious habits exerted an influence that amply repaid the genuine hospitality with which they were everywhere received.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians displayed the indomitable energy and perseverance of their ancestors, with the same morality and love of their church. Even those who took post on the outskirts of civilization along the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, had their pastor, and trained their children in Bible truth, in the catechism, obedience to parents,—a wholesome doctrine practically enforced by all the colonists,—and reverence for the Sabbath and its sacred duties. They were a people decided in their character. They emigrated from their native land to enjoy civil and religious privileges, but they had also an eye to the improvement of their temporal affairs.

The endearments of home and of the domestic fire-side had charms for the colonists of every creed. The education of their children was deemed a religious duty, while around their households clustered the comforts and many of the refinements of the times. The example of their ancestors, who had sought in the wilderness an asylum, where they might enjoy their religion, had not been in vain; a traditionary religious spirit had come down from those earlier days, and now pervaded the minds of the people.

Though there was neither perfect uniformity in their forms of worship, nor in their interpretation of religious doctrines, yet one sentiment was sacred in

the eyes of all—a reverence for the day of Holy Rest. The influences connected with the Sabbath, and impressed from week to week, penetrated their inner life, and like an all-pervading moral antiseptic preserved, in its purity, the religious character of the entire people.

The laws of a people may be taken as the embodiment of their sentiments. Those enacted by our forefathers may excite a smile, yet they show that they were no time-servers—that they were conscientious and in earnest.

In New England the laws noticed those who dressed more richly than their wealth would justify; they would not permit the man who defrauded his creditors to live in luxury; those who did not vote, or would not serve when elected to office, they fined for their want of patriotism; they forbade “drinking of healths as a bad habit;” they prohibited the wearing of embroidered garments and laces; they discouraged the use of “ribbons and great boots;” sleeves must reach to the wrist, and not be more than half an ell wide; no one under twenty years of age was allowed to use tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician; those who used it publicly were fined a sixpence; all persons were restrained from “swimming in the waters on the Sabbath-day, or unreasonably walking in the fields or streets.”

In Virginia we see the same spirit. In every settlement there was to be “a house for the worship of God.” Divine service was to be in accordance with canons of the Church of England. Absence from church was punished by a fine; the wardens were sworn to report cases of “drunkenness, swearing, and other vices.” The drunkards were fined, the swearers also, at the rate of “a shilling an oath,” slanderers and tale-bearers were punished; traveling or shooting on the Sabbath forbidden. The minister

was not to addict himself "to excess in drinking or riot, nor play cards or dice, but to hear or read the Holy Scriptures, catechize the children, and visit the sick." The wardens were bound to report the masters and mistresses "who neglected to catechize the ignorant persons under their charge." In the Carolinas laws of a similar character were enacted; and, in Pennsylvania, against "stage plays, playing of cards, dice, May-games, masques, and revels."

Although, at the time of which we write, many of these, and similar laws had become obsolete, yet the influences which dictated them had, for one hundred and fifty years, been forming the character of the colonies. Hedged in on the one side by the ocean, and on the other by a howling wilderness filled with hostile savages, they acquired a certain energy of character, the result of watchfulness, and an individuality, which to this day distinguishes their descendants.

While emigrants were flocking to the colonies, these influences were somewhat disturbed, but for three-quarters of a century—since the great revolution in England had restrained the hand of oppression—emigration had been gradually diminishing.

Thus uninfluenced from without, the political and religious principles with which they were imbued had time to produce their fruit. A national sentiment, a oneness of feeling among the people, grew into vigorous being. The common schools of New England had exerted their undivided influence for almost three generations; the youth left them with that conscious self-reliance which springs spontaneously in the intelligent mind—a pledge of success in things great as well as small. These schools, no doubt, gave an impulse to female education. In the earlier days of New England the women were taught to read, but very few to write. "The legal papers executed in

the first century (of the colony) by well-to-do women, were mostly signed by a mark, (X)".<sup>1</sup> The custom of settling in townships or villages made it easy to support common schools.

In the middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania and New York, a system of general education had not been introduced; the diversity of sects prevented. In the South, except partially in Maryland, common schools were not adopted. The owners of slaves usually held large tracts of the best lands, while the less wealthy were compelled to retire to the outskirts of the settlements, where they could obtain farms. The population was thus so much scattered, that generally children could not be concentrated at particular places in sufficient numbers to sustain schools. Those who, for want of means, could not employ private teachers, taught their own children as best they could. Among this class, from year to year there was but little increase in general intelligence. The wealthy employed private instructors, or sent their children abroad. As the nation increased in knowledge, the people cherished the right to exercise free thought and free speech.

Our ancestors lived not for themselves alone. With the prophet's vision, and the patriot's hope, they looked forward to the day, when all this continent would be under the influence of their descendants, and they a Christian people. Was it strange they were self-denying and in earnest, in endeavoring to spread the blessings of education and religion, as the greatest boon they could transmit to their posterity? Thus they labored to found institutions of learning; they encouraged the free expression of opinion. From the religious freedom of conscience, which they proclaimed as the doctrine of the Bible, the transition was easy to political freedom. The advocate of free inquiry became the advocate of civil

<sup>1</sup>Elliott's History of New England, vol. 1., p. 428.



liberty, and the same stroke which broke the chain binding the word of God to the interpretation of the church, shattered the fetters binding the political slave.

Much of this sentiment may be traced to the influence exerted by the opinions of one man, John Calvin. "We boast of our common schools, Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of free schools. The Pilgrims of Plymouth were Calvinists; the best influences of South Carolina came from the Calvinists of France. William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots; the ships from Holland that first brought colonists to Manhattan were filled with Calvinists. He that will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty. He bequeathed to the world a republican spirit in religion, with the kindred principles of republican liberty."<sup>1</sup>

There were slight differences of character between the people of the several colonies. In the eastern, the difficulties arising from a sterile soil had made the people industrious and frugal. There, labor was always honorable, and when the day came "which tried men's souls," great numbers of the prominent men came from the ranks of manual labor. The Anglo-Saxon element greatly predominated among the colonists of New England. As simple in manners as rigid in morals, a truly democratic spirit and love of liberty pervaded their minds, and hence political constitutions of whose benefits all were participants. The Norman element prevailed more in the South, especially in Virginia. Here the wealthy colonists were more aristocratic in spirit and feeling; were more refined and elegant in manners. This aristocratic spirit was fostered, in time, by the system of slavery, while the distinctions in society arising from the possession of wealth were greatly increased. In

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft's *Miscellanies*, pp. 405-6.

all the southern colonies, the mildness of the climate, the labor of slaves, and the ready sale of their tobacco, rice, and indigo, made the acquisition of wealth comparatively easy. The planter, "having more leisure, was more given to pleasures and amusements—to the sports of the turf, the cock-pit, the chase, and the gaming table. His social habits often made him profuse, and plunged him in debt to the English or Scotch merchant, who sold his exported products and furnished him his foreign supplies. He was often improvident, and sometimes not punctual in his pecuniary engagements."<sup>1</sup> The planters were hospitable. Living upon isolated plantations, they were in a measure deprived of social intercourse; but when opportunity served, they enjoyed it with a relish. As the Southerner was hospitable, so the Northerner was charitable. From the hard earnings of the farmer, of the mechanic, of the merchant, of the seafaring man, funds were cheerfully given to support schools, to endow colleges, or to sustain the ordinances of the gospel. In the South, colleges were principally endowed by royal grants.

In Pennsylvania was felt the benign influence of the disciples of George Fox, and its benevolent founder. The friends of suffering humanity, the enemies of war, the opponents of classes and ranks in society founded on mere birth, they recognized merit wherever found. There the human mind was untrammelled—conscious of a right derived from a higher authority than conventional law; there public posts were open to all—no tests intervened as a barrier. At this time the ardent aspirations of Benjamin Franklin in the pursuit of science received the sympathy of the people. In Philadelphia he was the means of founding an academy and free school, which grew into a university. Here was founded the first medical college in the colonies, the first public

<sup>1</sup>Tucker's History of the United States, vol. 1., p. 97.

library, and the first hospital. Here, Bartram, the botanist, founded the first bontanic garden; and here was formed the American Philosophical Society. Here lived Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, which bears the name of Hadley.

In New York, "the key of Canada and the lakes," were blended many elements of character. Here commerce began to prevail, and here the arbitrary laws of the Board of Trade were vigorously opposed, and so often eluded, that Holland derived more benefit from the trade than England herself. It cost nearly as much as the amount of the import duties to maintain the cruisers and the "Commissioners of Customs." The "Dutch Republicans" had been for nearly a century pupils in the school where the rights of Englishmen" were taught; they profited so much by the instruction, that they paid very little attention to the king's prerogative, and thought their own Legislature quite as respectable as the House of Commons.

Although the great majority of the Americans were the descendants of Englishmen, yet there were representatives from Scotland, from Ireland, from Wales, from France, from Holland, from Germany, from Sweden, and from Denmark. In religion, there were Churchmen and Dissenters, Quakers and Catholics. Though they differed in many minor points, and indulged in those little animosities which unfortunately too often arise between people of different nations and religions, yet they cherished a sympathy for each other. They were all attached to the mother country—the South, perhaps, more than the North; the former had not experienced so severely the iron hand of royal rule. Some strong external pressure was required to bind them more closely together, if ever they were to become an independent nation. That external pressure was not long wanting.

## CHAPTER XXV.

1750—1769

### CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION

Restrictions of Trade and Manufactures—Taxes Imposed by Parliament—Writs of Assistance—James Otis—Samuel Adams—The “Parsons’” Case in Virginia—Patrick Henry—A Stamp Tax Threatened—Colonel Barre’s Speech—The Stamp Act—Excitement in the Colonies—Henry in the House of Burgesses—Resolution Not to Use Stamps—“Sons of Liberty”—A Call for a Congress; It Meets, and the Colonial Assemblies Approve Its Measures—Merchants Refuse to Purchase English Merchandise—Self-denial of the Colonists—Pitt Defends Them—Franklin at the Bar of the House of Commons—Stamp Act Repealed—Rejoicings—Dartmouth College.

The industrious habits of the colonists were no less worthy of notice than their moral traits. The contest with the mother country had its origin in her attempts to deprive them, by means of unjust laws, of the fruits of their labor. For one hundred years she had been imposing restrictions on their trade and domestic manufactures. They were treated as dependents, and inferiors who occupied “settlements established in distant parts of the world for the benefit of trade.” They could purchase from England alone, and only to her market could they send their products. That English merchants might grow rich at their expense, the products of Europe and Asia were first to be landed in England, and then reshipped to America in British vessels. The only trade not thus taxed, was that of negroes, they being shipped directly from Africa—a trade against which all the colonies earnestly, but in vain, protested. Even the trees in the forest suitable for masts were



claimed by the king, and marked by his "Surveyor-General of Woods." "Rolling mills, forges, or tilt-hammers for making iron," were prohibited as "nuisances." The House of Commons said "that the erection of manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependency upon Great Britain"; and the English ship-carpenters complained "that their trade was hurt, and their workmen emigrated, since so many vessels were built in New England". The latter, because he could obtain his fur from the Indians without sending to England, was not permitted to sell hats out of his own colony. No manufacturer was permitted to have more than two apprentices. The government was unwilling that the colonists should make for themselves a single article which the English could supply.

These measures aroused a spirit of opposition, more especially among the frugal and industrious inhabitants of New England, whose manufactures, fisheries, and trade were almost ruined. There the people naturally agreed to buy of British manufacturers only what was absolutely necessary; rather than pay the English merchant exorbitant prices, they would deprive themselves of every luxury. Families determined to make their own linens and woolens, and to abstain from eating mutton, and preserve the sheep to furnish wool. It became fashionable, as well as honorable, to wear homespun. Associations were formed to promote domestic manufactures. On the anniversary of one of these, more than three hundred young women met on Boston Common, and devoted the day to spinning flax. The graduating class of Harvard College, not to be outdone in patriotism, made it a point on Commencement Day to be clad in homespun. Restrictions on trade did not affect the interests of the people of the South so much, as England could not dispense with

their tobacco, rice, and indigo, and they had scarcely any manufactories.

Before the close of the French war, it was intimated that England intended to tax the colonies, and make them bear a portion of the burdens brought upon herself by the mismanagement of her officials. Many plans were discussed and laid aside. Meantime the colonists denied the right of Parliament to tax them without granting them, in some form, representation in the government; they claimed a voice in the disposal of their money. They looked back upon their history, and were unable to discover the obligations they owed the king. They loved to think of Old England as the "home" of their fathers; they rejoiced in her glories and successes, and never dreamed of separating from her, until driven to that resolve by oppression. Yet visions of greatness, and it may be of independence, were floating through the minds of the far-seeing. John Adams, when a youth, had already written: "It looks likely to me, for if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our people, according to the exactest computations, will in another century become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas; and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us."<sup>1</sup>

A special effort was now made to enforce the navigation laws, and to prevent the colonists from trading with other nations. This policy would have converted the entire people into a nation of smugglers and law-breakers, but for the strong religious influences felt throughout the land.

To enforce these laws, Parliament gave authority for using general search warrants, or "Writs of As-

sistance." These writs authorized any sheriff or officer of the customs to enter a store or private dwelling, and search for foreign merchandise, which he suspected had not paid duty. The quiet of the domestic fireside was no longer to be held sacred. These writs, first used in Massachusetts, caused great excitement and opposition. Their legality was soon brought to the test in a court of justice.

On this occasion the eloquent James Otis sounded the note of alarm. He was the Advocate for the Admiralty, whose duty it was to argue in favor of the writs; but he resigned, in order to plead the cause of the people. The royalist lawyer contended that the power of Parliament was supreme, and that good subjects ought to admit to its every enactment. In reply, Otis exclaimed: "To my dying day, I will oppose, with all the power and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery, on the one hand, and villainy on the other." His stirring eloquence gave an impulse to public opinion, which aroused opposition to other acts of Parliament. "Then and there," says John Adams, "was the first opposition to arbitrary acts of Great Britain. Then and there American Independence was born." The writs were scarcely ever enforced after this trial.

Of the leading men of the time, none had greater influence than Samuel Adams—in his private life, the devout Christian; in his public life, the incorruptible patriot. In him the spirit of the old Puritans seemed to linger: mild in manners, living from choice in retirement, incapable of an emotion of fear, when duty called him to a post of danger. Learned in constitutional law, he never went beyond its limits. Through his influence Boston expressed her opinions, saying, "We claim British rights, not by charter only—we are born to them. If we are taxed without our consent, our property is taken

without our consent, and then we are no more free-men, but slaves." And she invited all the colonies to join in obtaining redress. The same note of alarm was sounded in Virginia, in New York, in Connecticut, and in the Carolinas. Thinking minds saw in the future the coming contest; that the English ministry would persist in their unjust treatment, until, in self-defense, they had driven the whole American people to open rebellion. "They wish to make us dependent, but they will make us independent; these oppressions will lead us to unite and thus secure our liberty." Thus wrote Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. "Oh! poor New England," exclaimed the eloquent George Whitefield, "there is a deep-laid plot against your liberties; your golden days are ended."

The first collision in Virginia between the prerogative of the king and the authority of the legislature occurred in a county court. Tobacco was the legalized currency of the colony. Occasionally, untoward events, such as war, or failure of the crop, made payments in tobacco very burdensome. The legislature passed a law, authorizing debtors to pay their public due in money, at the rate of twopence a pound for the tobacco due. The clergymen of the established church refused to acquiesce in the law; they had a fixed salary of a certain number of pounds of tobacco a year. At their instance, Sherlock, the Bishop of London, used his influence and persuaded the king to refuse his signature to this law. "The rights of the clergy and the authority of the king must stand or fall together," said the Bishop. The law was therefore null and void.

To test it, a clergyman named Maury brought a suit to recover damages, or the difference between twopence per pound and the higher price for which tobacco was selling. It became the cause of the people on the one side, and the cause of the clergy



and of the king's prerogative on the other. The people engaged a young man of twenty-seven to plead against the "parsons."

That young man was Patrick Henry. He belonged not to the aristocracy, and was obscure and unknown. On this occasion, that rare and wonderful gift of eloquence, which has made us so familiar with his name, was first displayed. He possessed a charm of voice and tone that fascinated his hearers; a grasp of thought, a vividness of conception, and withal a power that allured into sympathy with his own sentiments the emotions of his audience. For this he was indebted to nature, not to education; for, when a boy, he broke away from the restraints of school and the drudgery of book-learning, to lounge idly by some solitary brookside with hook and line, or in more active moods to dash away into the woods to enjoy the excitements of the chase. He learned a little of Latin, of Greek not more than the letters, and as little of mathematics. At eighteen he married, engaged in trade, and failed; tried farming with as little success; then read law six weeks, and was admitted to the bar. Yet the mind of this young man had not been idle; he lived in a world of deep thought; he studied men. He was now to appear for the first time as an advocate.

The whole colony was interested in the trial, and the court room was crowded with anxious spectators. Maury made objections to the jury; he thought of them of "the vulgar herd," "dissenters," and "New Lights." "They are honest men," rejoined Henry. The court overruled the insulting objections, and the jury were sworn.

The case was plainly against him, but Henry contended the law was valid, and enacted by competent authority; he fell back upon the natural right of Virginia to make her own laws, independently of the

king and parliament. He proved the justness of the law; he sketched the character of a good king, as the father of his people, but who, when he annuls good laws becomes a tyrant, and forfeits all right to obedience. At this doctrine, so new, so daring, the audience seemed to stand aghast. "He has spoken treason," exclaimed the opposing counsel. A few joined in the cry of Treason! treason! Yet the jury brought in a verdict for the "parsons" of a penny damages.

Henry denied the right of the king to aid in making laws for the colonies. His argument applied not only to Virginia, but to the continent. The sentiment spread from colony to colony.

Parliament assumed the right to tax the Americans, and paid no attention to their protests, but characterized them as "absurd," "insolent," "mad." When they expostulated with Grenville, the Prime Minister, he warned them that in a contest with England they would gain nothing. The taxes must be levied at all events; and he graciously asked if there was any form in which they would rather pay them than by means of the threatened stamps. These were to be affixed to all documents used in trade, and for them a certain impost duty was charged. Only the English merchants whose interests were involved in the American trade, appear to have sympathized with the colonists. Franklin, who was then in London as agent for the Assembly of Pennsylvania, wrote home: "Every man in England regards himself as a piece of a sovereign over America, seems to jostle himself into the throne with the king, and talks of our subjects in the colonies."

The Stamp Act did not pass without a struggle. During these discussions, Colonel Barre, who, in the war against the French, was the friend and companion of Wolfe, charged the members of the House

of Commons with being ignorant of the true state of the colonies. When Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked the question, "Will our American children, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from our burdens?" Barre indignantly replied: "They planted by your care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to an uncultivated, inhospitable country; where they exposed themselves to almost every hardship, and to the cruelties of the savage foe. They nourished by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect; your care for them was to send persons to rule them; deputies of deputies, to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men who have caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defense. Amidst their constant and laborious industry they have defended a country whose frontiers were drenched in blood, while its interior settlements yielded all their little savings to your emoluments. I speak the genuine sentiments of my heart. They are a people as truly loyal as any subjects of the king; they are jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated."

But very few of the members of the house were thus liberal in their sentiments. The great majority looked upon the colonies as subservient to the rule of the mother country. It was the express intention of the ministry "to be very tender in taxing them, beginning with small duties and taxes," and advancing as they found them willing to bear it.

The House of Commons, on March 22d, passed the Stamp Act by a majority of nine to one; ten days

afterward it passed the House of Lords almost unanimously. The king was ill; mystery whispered of some unusual disease. When George III. signed the Stamp Act, he was not a responsible being—he was insane.

This act declared that every written agreement between persons in trade, to be valid, must have affixed to it one of these stamps. Their price was in proportion to the importance of the writing; the lowest a shilling, and thence increasing indefinitely. Truly this “was to take money without an equivalent.” All business must be thus taxed, or suspended.

In order to enforce this act, Parliament, two months afterward, authorized the ministry to send as many troops as they saw proper to America. For these soldiers the colonies were required to find “quarters, fuel, cider or rum, candles, and other necessities.”

The news of the passage of these arbitrary laws threw the people into a ferment. They became acquainted with each other's views; the subject was discussed in the newspapers, was noticed in the pulpits, and became the engrossing topic of conversation in social intercourse. In the Virginia Assembly, Patrick Henry introduced resolutions declaring that the people of Virginia were only bound to pay taxes imposed by their own Legislature, and any person who maintained the contrary should be deemed an enemy of the colony. An exciting debate followed, in which the wonderful power of Henry in describing the tyranny of the British government swayed the majority of the members. In the midst of one of his bursts of eloquence he exclaimed: “Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.”—“Treason! treason!” shouted the Speaker, and a few others joined him in the cry.



Henry fixed his eye upon the Speaker, and in the tone and emphasis peculiar to himself, continued, "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." The resolutions passed, but the next morning, in Henry's absence, the timid in the Assembly rescinded the last, and modified the others. The governor immediately dissolved the house for this free expression of opinion. Meantime, a manuscript copy of the resolutions was on its way to Philadelphia, where they were speedily printed and sent throughout the country. They raised the drooping spirits of the people, who determined to neutralize the law—they would never use the stamps.

The Legislature of Massachusetts resolved that the courts should conduct their business without their use. Colden, the royalist governor of New York, thought "that the presence of a battalion would prevent mischief;" but the council suggested, "it would be more safe for the government to show a confidence in the people." "I will cram the stamps down their throats with my sword," said an officer. The churchmen preached obedience to the king—the "Lord's anointed." William Livingston answered, "The people are the 'Lord's anointed,' though named 'mob and rabble'—the people are the darling of Providence."

Colonel Barre, in his famous speech, characterized those in America who opposed British oppression, as "Sons of Liberty." He read them rightly; Sons of Liberty they were, and destined to be free; they felt it; they adopted the name, it became the watchword under which they rallied. Associations called by this name sprang up as if by magic, and in a few weeks spread from Massachusetts to Maryland. They would neither use stamps nor permit the distributors to remain in office.

One morning the famous Liberty Tree in Boston was found decorated with the effigies of some of the friends of the English ministry. The mob compelled Oliver, the secretary of the colony, who had been appointed stamp distributor, to resign, and promise that he would not aid in their distribution. They also attacked the houses of some of the other officials. The patriots protested against these lawless proceedings. Five hundred Connecticut farmers came into Wethersfield and compelled Jared Ingersol, the stamp officer for that colony, to resign, and then take off his hat and give three cheers for "Liberty, Property, and no stamps." Such was the feeling, and such was the result, that when the day came, on which the law was to go into effect, not one stamp officer could be found—all had resigned.

The General Court of Massachusetts issued a circular in June, inviting all the colonies to send delegates to a convention or Congress, to be held at New York, on the first Tuesday of the following October. Accordingly, on the day named delegates from nine of the colonies met at the place appointed.

The idea of a union of the colonies dates as far back as the days of William Penn, who was the first to suggest it; but now the question was discussed by the various committees of correspondence. At a convention which met at Albany eleven years before this, Benjamin Franklin had proposed a plan of union. This was adopted and laid before the Assemblies of the colonies, and the Board of Trade, for ratification. It met with a singular fate. The Assemblies rejected it, because it was too aristocratic, and the Board of Trade because it was too democratic.

The Congress met and spent three weeks in deliberation. They drew up a Declaration of Rights, a Memorial to both Houses of Parliament, and a Pe-

tition to the king. They claimed the right of being taxed only by their own representatives, premising, that because of the distance, and for other reasons, they could not be represented in the House of Commons, but in their own Assemblies. These documents were signed by nearly all the delegates, and transmitted to England. The colonial Assemblies, at their earliest days of meeting, gave to these proceedings of the Congress their cordial approval. Thus the Union was consummated, by which the colonies "became as a bundle of sticks which could neither be bent nor broken." While the Congress was in session, a ship with stamps on board, made its appearance in the bay. Placards were posted throughout the city, threatening those who should attempt to use them. "I am resolved to have the stamps distributed," said Colden, the governor. "Let us see who will dare to put the act into execution," said the Sons of Liberty.

On the last day of October all the royal governors, except the governor of Rhode Island, took the oath to carry into execution the Stamp Act. On the next day the law was to go into effect. But not a stamp was to be seen; instead, in every colony the bells were tolled, and the flags lowered to half-mast—indications that the passage of this act was regarded as "the funeral of liberty."

The merchants of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, agreed to send no orders to England for merchandise, to countermand those already sent, and to receive no goods on commission till the act was repealed. They were sustained by the people, who pledged themselves not to use the products of English manufacturers, but to encourage their own. Circulars were sent throughout the land inviting to harmonious action; these were responded to with a

hearty good-will. Luxuries were dispensed with, and homespun was more honorable than ever.

The infatuated ministry, in view of this opposition, resolved to modify, not to repeal the law. It would detract from their dignity, to comply with the request of the colonists. "Sooner," said one of them, "than make our colonies our allies, I would wish to see them returned to their primitive deserts."

Infirm health had compelled Pitt to retire from active life. "My resolution is taken," said he, "and if I can crawl or be carried to London, I will deliver my mind and heart upon the state of America." When accused by Grenville of exciting sedition, "Sir," said he in reply, "I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. Sorry I am to have the liberty of speech in this house imputed as a crime. But the imputation will not deter me; it is a liberty I mean to exercise. The gentleman tells us that America is obstinate; that America is almost in rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted." The sentiment startled the house; he continued: "If they had submitted, they would have voluntarily become slaves. They have been driven to madness by injustice. My opinion is, that the Stamp Act should be repealed, absolutely, totally, immediately." The celebrated Edmund Burke, then a young man rising into notice, advocated the repeal with great eloquence.

The House of Commons wished to inquire still further of the temper of the Americans before taking the vote. They accordingly called witnesses to their bar, among whom was Benjamin Franklin. His knowledge was the most perfect, and his testimony had the greatest effect upon their minds. He said the colonists could not pay for the ships for want of gold and silver; that they had borne more than their share of expense in the last war, and that



they were laboring under debts contracted by it; that they would soon supply themselves with domestic manufactures; that they had been well disposed toward the mother country, but recent laws were lessening their affection, and soon all commerce would be broken up, unless those laws were repealed; and finally, that they never would submit to taxes imposed by those who had no authority. The vote was taken, and the Stamp Act was repealed; not because it was unjust, but because it could not be enforced. The people of the English commercial cities manifested their joy; bonfires were lighted, the ships displayed their gayest colors, and the city of London itself was illuminated. Expresses were sent to the seaports, that the news might reach America as soon as possible.

The rejoicings in the colonies were equally as great. In Boston, the bell nearest to the Liberty Tree was the first to ring; soon gay flags and banners were flying from the shipping, from private dwellings, and from the steeples of the meeting-houses. Amidst the joy, the unfortunate were not forgotten, and those immured in the debtor's prison, were released by the contributions of their friends. The ministers, from their pulpits, offered thanksgiving in the name of the whole people, and the associations against importing merchandise from England were dissolved. New York, Virginia, and Maryland, each voted a statue to Pitt, who became more than ever a popular idol.

In the midst of these troubles the cause of education and religion was not forgotten. The Rev. Eleazar Wheelock established at Lebanon, in Connecticut, a school to educate Indian boys, and train them as teachers for their own race. Success attended the effort. A grant of forty-four thousand acres of land induced him to remove the school to Hanover,

New Hampshire. Under the name of Dartmouth, a charter as a college was granted it, by Wentworth, the governor. The Earl of Dartmouth, a Methodist, a friend of John Wesley, aided it, was one of its trustees, and took charge of the funds contributed for it in England—hence the name.

The establishment of this institution was one of the effects of the Great Revival. In the midst of the native forest of pines the work was commenced. The principal and his students dwelt in log cabins, built by their own hands.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

1766—1774

### CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION—CONT.

The English Ministry Determines to Obtain a Revenue—Massachusetts Invites to Harmonious Action—The Romney and the Sloop Liberty—A British Regiment at Boston—Collision With the Citizens—Articles of Association Proposed by Washington—The Tax Upon Tea—Whigs and Tories—The Gaspé captured—The King's Maxim—The Resolutions Not to Receive the Tea—Tea Thrown Into Boston Harbor—Its Reception at Other Places—More Oppressive Laws Passed by Parliament—Aid sent to Boston—Gage's Difficulties—Alexander Hamilton—The Old Continental Congress—The Organization; the First Prayer—The "Declaration of Rights"—The "American Association"—The Papers Issued by the Congress—The Views of Pitt in Relation to them.

Lord Grenville, the head of the ministry, was dismissed, and the Marquis of Rockingham took his place. This ministry soon gave way, and another was appointed by the king, at the head of which was placed Pitt, who, in the meantime, had been created Earl of Chatham.

The following year, during Pitt's absence, Charles Townshend, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced that he intended, at all risks, to derive a revenue from America, by imposing a duty upon certain articles, which the colonists received from abroad, such as wine, oil, paints, glass, paper, and lead colors, and especially upon tea, as they obtained it cheaper from Dutch smugglers than the English themselves. It was suggested to him to withdraw the army, and there would be no need of a tax. "I will hear nothing on the subject," said he; "it is absolutely necessary to keep an army there."

The colonists were startled by this news. They now remembered the fatal reservation in the repeal of the Stamp Act, that Parliament had the absolute right to tax them. "We will form a universal combination to eat nothing, to drink nothing, and wear nothing, imported from England," passed as a watchword from one colony to another, and very soon the non-importation associations were again in vigor. "Courage, Americans; liberty, religion, and science are on the wing to these shores. The finger of God points out a mighty empire to your sons," said one of the lawyers of New York. "Send over an army and fleet, and reduce the dogs to reason," wrote one of the royal governors to the ministry.

Suddenly the *Romney*, a man-of-war, appeared in the harbor of Boston. The question soon arose, Why is a vessel of war sent to our harbor? The people had resisted no law; they had only respectfully petitioned for redress, and resolved to dispense with the use of British goods. Since the arrival of the *Romney*, the haughty manner of the Commissioners of Customs toward the people had become intolerable. The *Romney* frequently impressed the New England seamen as they came into the harbor. One man thus impressed was forcibly rescued by his companions. These and similar outrages excited the bitterest animosity between the royal officials and the people.

The Massachusetts Assembly issued a circular to the other Colonial Assemblies, inviting to harmonious action in obtaining redress. A few months afterward the ministry sent peremptory orders to the Assembly to rescind their circular. Through the influence of Otis and Samuel Adams, the Assembly refused to comply with the arbitrary demand, but instead intimated that Parliament ought to repeal their offensive laws. Meantime the other Colonial Assemblies received the circular favorably, and also



encouraged Massachusetts in her resistance to tyranny and injustice.

At this crisis, under the pretence that she had made a false entry, the sloop *Liberty*, belonging to John Hancock, one of the prominent leaders, was seized, and towed under the guns of the *Romney*. She was laden with Madeira wine, on which duties were demanded. The news soon spread, and a crowd collected, the more violent of whom attacked the houses of the Commissioners of Customs, who were forced to fly for safety to Castle William in the harbor. Of these outbreaks of a few ignorant persons, the most exaggerated accounts were sent to England, and there it was resolved to send more soldiers, and make Massachusetts submit as a conquered country. Vengeance was to be especially taken on "the insolent town of Boston." As the Parliament had determined to send troops to the colonies, Bernard, the governor, requested Colonel Gage to bring a regiment from Halifax to Boston. On a quiet Sabbath, these troops were landed under the cover of the guns of their vessels, their colors flying, drums beating, and bayonets fixed, as if they had taken possession of an enemy's town. Neither the leaders of the people, nor the people themselves, were intimidated by this military demonstration. According to law, troops could be lodged in Boston, only when the barracks at the forts in the harbor were full. The Assembly refused the soldiers quarters, and the food and other necessities which had been demanded. The royalists gravely thought the Bostonians "had come within a hair's breadth of committing treason." Gage wrote, "It is of no use to argue in this country, where every man studies law." He would enforce obedience without delay.

Boston was held as a conquered town; sentinels were placed at the corners of the streets, and cit-

izens, when passing to their ordinary business, were challenged; even the sacred hours of the Sabbath were not free from the din of drums. A collision finally took place, between a citizen and a soldier. This led to an affray between the soldiers and some rope-makers. A few evenings afterward a sentinel was assaulted; soldiers were sent to his aid, and they were stoned by the mob. At length a soldier fired upon their assailants; immediately six of his companions fired also. Three persons were killed and five wounded. The town was thrown into a state of great excitement; in an hour's time the alarm bells had brought thousands into the streets. The multitude was pacified, only for the time, by the assurance of Hutchinson, who was now governor, that in the morning justice should be done. The next morning the people demanded that the troops should be removed from the town to Castle William; and that Captain Preston, who, it was said, had commanded his soldiers to fire, should be tried for murder. Both these requisitions were complied with. Captain Preston and six of his men were arraigned for trial. John Adams and Josiah Quincy, both popular leaders, volunteered to defend them. They were acquitted by the jury of murder, but two of the soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter.

The result of this trial had a good effect in England. Contrary to the slanders of their enemies, it showed that the Bostonians, in the midst of popular excitement, were actuated by principles of justice. Those citizens who had been thus killed were regarded in the colonies as martyrs of liberty.

The Virginia Assembly passed resolutions as "bad as those of Massachusetts". The next day, the governor, Lord Boutetourte, dissolved the house for passing "the abominable resolves." The members immediately held a meeting, at which Washington

presented the resolutions, drawn up by himself and his friend George Mason. They were a draft of articles of association, not to import from Great Britain merchandise that was taxed. "Such was their zeal against the slave-trade, they made a special covenant with one another not to import any slaves, nor purchase any imported." To these resolutions were signed the names of Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, and, indeed, of all the members of the Assembly. Then they were sent throughout the colony for the signature of every man in it.

The non-importation associations produced their effect, and Lord North, who was now prime minister, proposed to remove all the duties except that on tea. That was retained at the express command of the king, whose maxim was, "that there should be always one tax, at least, to keep up the right of taxing". This removed part of the difficulty, for which the colonists were thankful; but they were still united in their determination not to import tea. For these concessions they were indebted to the clamors of those English merchants whose trade had been injured. For a year there was an apparent lull in the storm of popular feeling.

Governor Hutchinson issued a proclamation for a day of thanksgiving; this he required the ministers to read from their pulpits on the following Sabbath. He thought to entrap them, by inserting a clause acknowledging gratitude, "that civil and religious liberty were continued," and "trade encouraged." But he sadly mistook the men. The ministers, with the exception of one, whose church the governor himself attended, refused to read the proclamation, but, on the contrary, agreed to "implore of Almighty God the restoration of lost liberties."

The contest had continued so long that party lines

began to be drawn. Those who favored the demands of the people, were called Whigs; those who sympathized with the government, were called Tories. These terms had been long in use in England, the former to designate the opposers of royalty; the latter its supporters.

Scarcely a colony was exempt from outrages committed by those representing the royal authority. In New York the people, on what is now the Park, then known as the Fields, erected a liberty pole. They were accustomed to assemble there and discuss the affairs of the colony. On a certain night, a party of the soldiers stationed in the fort cut down the pole. The people retaliated, and frequent quarrels and collisions occurred. Though these disturbances were not so violent as those in Massachusetts, they had the effect of exciting in the people intense hatred of the soldiers, as the tools of tyranny.

An armed vessel, the *Gaspe*, engaged in the revenue service, took her position in Narraganset Bay, and in an insulting and arbitrary manner enforced the customs. Sometimes she wantonly compelled the passing vessels and market boats to lower their colors as a token of respect; sometimes landed companies on the neighboring islands, and carried off hogs and sheep, and other provisions. The lieutenant in command was appealed to for his authority in thus acting. He referred the committee to the admiral, stationed at Boston. The admiral haughtily answered: "The lieutenant is fulfilling his duty; if any persons rescue a vessel from him, I will hang them as pirates." The bold sailors and citizens matured their plans and executed them. The *Providence* packet, of a light draught and a fast sailor, was passing up the bay. The *Gaspe* hailed. The packet paid no attention, but passed on. Immediately the *Gaspe* gave chase. The packet designedly



ran into shoal water near the shore; the Gaspe followed, and was soon aground,—the tide going out, left her fast. The following night a company of men went down in boats, boarded her, made prisoners of the crew, and burned the vessel. A large reward was offered for the perpetrators of this bold act; though well known, not one was betrayed.

The warehouses of the East India Company were filled with the “pernicious weed”, and the company proposed to pay all its duties in England, and then export it at their own risk. This would remove the difficulty, as there would then be no collections of the duty in American ports. But the king was unwilling to sacrifice his maxim, and Lord North seems to have been incapable of comprehending, that the Americans refused to pay the duty on tea, not because it was great or small, but because they looked upon a tax thus imposed as unjust. He therefore virtually proposed to the company to pay three-fourths of the duty in England; to save the king’s maxim, the government would collect the other fourth, or three pence on a pound, in America. It was suggested to North, that the Americans would not purchase the tea on those conditions. He replied: “It is to no purpose the making objections, for the king will have it so. The king means to try the question with the Americans.”

Meantime public opinion in the colonies was becoming more and more enlightened, and more and more decided. “We must have a convention of all the colonies,” said Samuel Adams. And he sent forth circulars inviting them to assert their rights, when there was a prospect of success. He saw clearly that the king and Parliament were resolved to see whether the Americans would or would not acknowledge their supremacy.

When the conditions became known on which tea

was to be imported, the people took measures to prevent its being either landed or sold. In Philadelphia they held a meeting, and requested those to whom the tea was consigned "to resign their appointments." They also denounced "as an enemy to his country," "whosoever shall aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea." Similar meetings were held in Charleston and New York, and similar resolutions were passed.

A ship, making a quick passage, arrived at Boston, with intelligence that several vessels laden with tea had sailed. Five thousand men immediately assembled to deliberate on the course to be pursued. On motion of Samuel Adams, they unanimously resolved to send the tea back. "The only way to get rid of it," shouted some one in the crowd, "is to throw it overboard." Those to whom the tea had been consigned were invited to meet at Liberty Tree, and resign their appointments. Two of the consignees were sons of Governor Hutchinson, who, at that time, was peculiarly odious on account of his double-dealing. This had been brought to light by a number of his letters to persons in England. These letters had fallen into the hands of Dr. Franklin, who sent them to the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly. They disclosed the fact, that nearly all the harsh measures directed against the colony, had been suggested by Hutchinson.

According to law, a ship must unload within twenty days, or be seized for non-payment of duties.

Presently a ship laden with tea came into the harbor. By order of the committee, it was moored at a certain wharf, and a company of twenty-five men volunteered to guard it. The owner promised to take the cargo back, if the governor would give his permit. Meantime came two other vessels; they were ordered to anchor beside the first. The com-

mittee waited again upon the consignees, but their answer was unsatisfactory. When the committee made their report to the meeting, not a word was said; the assemblage silently broke up. The consignees were terribly alarmed. That silence was ominous. Hutchinson's two sons fled to the fort, to the protection of the regulars. The father went quietly out of town. His object was to gain time till the twenty days should expire; then the ships would pass into the hands of the Commissioners of Customs, and the tea would be safe for his sons.

Another meeting of the people was protracted till after dark; on the morrow the twentieth day would expire, and the tea would be placed beyond their reach. At length the owner of the vessel returned from his mission to the governor, and reported that he would not give the permit for the ships to leave the port. "This meeting," announced Samuel Adams, "can do nothing more to save the country."

Immediately a shout, somewhat like a war-whoop, arose from a band of forty or fifty "very dark complexioned men, dressed like Mohawks," who were around the door. This band moved hastily down to the wharf where lay the tea ships. Placing a guard to protect them from spies, they went on board and took out three hundred and forty-two chests, broke them open, and poured the tea into the water. In silence the crowd on shore witnessed the affair; when the work was accomplished, they quietly retired to their homes. Paul Revere set out immediately to carry the news to New York and Philadelphia.

At New York, a tea ship was sent back with her cargo; the captain was escorted out of the city by the Committee of Vigilance, with banners flying and a band playing "God Save the King." Eighteen chests of tea, found concealed on board another vessel,

were thrown into the dock. In Charleston tea was permitted to be landed, but was stowed in damp cellars, where it spoiled. The captain of the vessel bound for Philadelphia, when four miles below the city, learned that the citizens would not permit him to land his cargo; he prudently returned to England. At Annapolis, a ship and its cargo were both burned; the owner, to allay the excitement, himself applying the torch.

Meantime the various committees of correspondence were making preparations to hold a congress composed of representatives from all the colonies. Yet they said, and no doubt honestly, that "their old good will and affection for the parent country were not wholly lost." "If she returned to her former moderation and good humor, their affection would revive."

When it became known in England that the audacious colonists would not even permit the tea to be landed, the king and ministry determined to make their power felt; and especially to make an example of Boston. Accordingly a bill was introduced and passed in Parliament, four to one, to close her port to all commerce, and to transfer the seat of government to Salem. Though her citizens offered remuneration for the tea destroyed, yet Massachusetts must be punished; made an example, to deter other outbreaks. Parliament immediately passed a series of laws which violated her charter and took away her privileges. The Port Bill, it was complacently prophesied, will make Boston submit; she will yet come as a penitent, and promise obedience to British laws.

Parliament went still further, and passed other laws; one for quartering soldiers, at the people's expense, on all the colonies, and another in connection with it, by which officers, who, in enforcing this par-



ticular law, should commit acts of violence, were to be taken to England, and tried there for the offense. This clause would encourage arbitrary acts, and render military and official insolence still more intolerable. To these was added another law, known as the Quebec act; it granted unusual concessions to the Catholics of Canada—a stroke of policy, if war should occur between the colonies and the mother country. This act revived much of the Old Protestant feeling latent in the minds of the people. These laws, opposed by many in Parliament as unnecessary and tyrannical, excited in America a deep feeling of indignation against the English government.

Everywhere Boston met with sympathy. The town of Salem refused to accept the proffered boon of becoming the seat of government at the expense of her neighbor, and Marblehead offered her port, free of charge, to the merchants of Boston. In that city great distress was experienced; multitudes, who depended upon the daily labor they obtained from commerce, were out of employment, and their families suffered. The different colonies sent to their aid provisions and money; these were accompanied by words of encouragement, to stand firm in the righteous cause. The ordinary necessities of life came from their neighbors of New England. “The patriotic and generous people” of South Carolina sent them two hundred barrels of rice, and promised eight hundred more, but urged them “not to pay for an ounce of the tea.” In North Carolina “two thousand pounds were raised by subscription” and sent. Virginia and Maryland vied with each other in the good work. Washington presided at a meeting of sympathizers, and himself subscribed fifty pounds; and even the farmers on the western frontiers of the Old

Dominion sent one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour.

These patriots were determined "that the men of Boston, who were deprived of their daily labor, should not lose their daily bread, nor be compelled to change their residence for want."<sup>1</sup>

Even the citizens of Quebec, French and English, by joint effort sent them more than a thousand bushels of wheat, while in London itself one hundred and fifty thousand dollars were subscribed for their benefit. Notwithstanding all the distress no riot or outbreak occurred among the people.

General Gage was now Commander-in-chief of the British army in America, and had been recently appointed governor, in place of Hutchinson. He was sadly at a loss how to manage the Bostonians. If they would only violate the law, he could exercise his civil as well as his military authority. They held meetings, from time to time, and freely discussed their public affairs. They were under the control of leaders who never lost their self-possession, nor transcended their constitutional rights. The government, thinking to avoid the evil, forbade them to hold such meetings, after a certain day. They violated the law "by convoking the meetings before that day, and keeping them alive." "Faneuil Hall was at times unable to hold them, and they swarmed from that revolutionary hive into Old South Church. The Liberty Tree became a rallying place for any popular movement, and a flag hoisted on it was saluted by all processions as the emblem of the popular cause."<sup>1</sup>

During this time, the people throughout the colonies held conventions and chose delegates to the General Congress about to meet at Philadelphia. One of these meetings, held in the "Fields" in New

<sup>1</sup>Bancroft, vol. vii., p. 75.

<sup>1</sup>Washington Irving.

York, was addressed by a youth of seventeen. The stripling charmed his hearers by his fervor, as he grappled with the question and presented with clearness the main points at issue. When he closed, a whisper ran through the crowd, "It is a collegian." The youth was Alexander Hamilton, a native of St. Kitts, of Scotch and French descent, his mother a Huguenot. The son combined the caution of the Scot with the vivacity of the Gaul. At an early age he lost his mother, whose memory he cherished with the greatest devotion. "A father's care he seems never to have known." At the age of twelve he was thrown upon the world to depend upon his own resources. He came to Boston, and thence to New York, where he found means to enter King's, since Columbia College. He had been known to the people simply as the West Indian, who walked under the trees in the college green, and unconscious of the observation of others, talked to himself. Henceforth a brilliant mind and untiring energies were to be consecrated to the welfare of the land that had adopted the orphan.

When the time came for the meeting of the General Congress, known as the Old Continental Congress, fifty-five delegates assembled in the Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia. Every colony was represented, except Georgia. Martin, the royalist governor, had prevented delegates from being chosen.

Here for the first time assembled the most eminent men of the colonies. They held in their hands, under the Great Disposer of all things, the destinies of a people numbering nearly three millions. Here were names now sacred in the memories of Americans. George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edward and John Rutledge, Gadsden, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Philip

Livingston, John Jay, William Livingston, Dr. Witherspoon, President of Princeton College, a Scotch Presbyterian minister, who had come over some years before, but was said to be "as high a son of liberty as any man in America," and others of lesser note, but no less patriotism. They had corresponded with each other, and exchanged views on the subject of their country's wrongs; they had sympathized as brethren, though many of them were to each other personally unknown. It was a momentous crisis, and they felt the responsibility of their position.

The House was organized by electing the aged Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, Speaker, and Charles Thompson, of Pennsylvania, Secretary. A native of Ireland, when a youth he came to America. He was principal of the Quaker High School in Philadelphia, and was proverbial for his truth and honesty.

It was suggested that it would be becoming to open their sessions with prayer. This proposition was thought by some to be inexpedient, since perhaps the delegates could not all join in the same form of worship. At length Samuel Adams, who was a strict Congregationalist, arose and said: "I will willingly join in prayer with any gentleman of piety and virtue, whatever may be his cloth, provided he is a friend of his country." On a motion, the Rev. Mr. Duche, a popular Episcopal clergyman, of Philadelphia, was invited to officiate as chaplain. Mr. Duche accepted the invitation. A rumor, in the mean time, reached Philadelphia that General Gage had bombarded Boston. When the Congress assembled the next morning, anxiety and sympathy were depicted on every countenance. The rumor, though it proved to be false, excited feelings of brotherhood, hitherto unknown.

The chaplain read the thirty-fifth psalm, and then, carried away by his emotions, burst forth into an



extemporary prayer to the Lord of Hosts to be their helper. "It seemed," says John Adams, in a letter to his wife, "as if Heaven had ordained that psalm to be read on that morning. He prayed, in language eloquent and sublime, for America for the Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially for the town of Boston. It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here."

When the prayer was closed, a long and death-like silence ensued, as if each one hesitated "to open a business so momentous." At length Patrick Henry slowly arose, faltering at first, "as if borne down by the weight of his subject;" but the fires of his wonted eloquence began to glow, as he recited the colonial wrongs already endured, and foretold those yet to come. "Rising, as he advanced, with the grandeur of his subject, and glowing at length with all the majesty and expectation of the occasion, his speech seemed more than that of mortal man." He inspired the entire Congress with his liberal sentiments; they found a response in every heart when he exclaimed: "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." When he closed, the members were not merely astonished at his matchless eloquence, but the importance of the subject had overwhelmed them.

The Congress appointed a committee, which drew up a "Declaration of Rights." In this they enumerated their natural rights to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; as British subjects, they claimed to participate in making their own laws; in imposing their own taxes; the right of trial by jury in the vicinage; of holding public meetings, and of petitioning for redress of grievances. They protest-

ed against a standing army in the colonies without their consent, and against eleven acts passed since the accession of George III., as violating the rights of the colonies. It was added, "To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit."

To obtain redress they resolved to enter upon peaceable measures. They agreed to form an "American Association," in whose articles they pledged themselves not to trade with Great Britain or the West Indies, nor with those engaged in the slave-trade—which was especially denounced—not to use British goods or tea, and not to trade with any colony which would refuse to join the association. Committees were to be appointed in the various districts to see that these articles were strictly carried into effect.

Elaborate papers were also issued, in which the views of the Congress were set forth still more fully. A petition to the king was written by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania; he also wrote an Address to the people of Canada. The Memorial to the people of the colonies was written by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and the Address to the people of Great Britain by John Jay, of New York.

Every measure was carefully discussed, and though on some points there was much diversity of opinion, yet, as Congress sat with closed doors, only the results of these discussions went forth to the country embodied in resolutions, and signed by the members. These papers attracted the attention of thinking men in England. Said Chatham, "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, their firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must avow, and I have studied the master states of the world, I know not the people, or senate,

who, for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing to equal it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation, must be vain."

## CHAPTER XXVII.

1774—1775

### COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION

The Spirit of the People—Gage Alarmed—The People Seize Guns and Ammunition—The Massachusetts Provincial Congress; its Measures—Parliament Passes the Restraining Bill—Conflicts at Lexington and Concord—Volunteers fly to Arms and Beleaguer Boston—Stark—Putnam—Benedict Arnold—Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys—Capture of Ticonderoga—Lord Dunmore in Virginia—Patrick Henry and the Independent Companies—The News From Lexington Rouses a Spirit of Resistance—The Second Continental Congress; It Takes Decisive Measures; Adopts the Army before Boston, and Appoints Washington Commander-in-chief.

While Congress was yet in session, affairs began to wear a serious aspect in and around Boston. The people were practising military exercises. Every village and district had its company of minute-men—men pledged to each other to be ready for action at a minute's warning. England soon furnished them an occasion. The ministry prohibited the exportation of military stores to America, and sent secret orders to the royal governors, to seize all the arms and gunpowder in the magazines. Gage complied with these orders. When it became known that he had secretly sent a company of soldiers by night, who had seized the powder in the arsenal at Charlestown, and conveyed it to Castle William, the minute-men assembled at once. Their eagerness to go to the governor and compel him to restore it to the arsenal could scarcely be restrained.

Ere long various rumors were rife in the country—that Boston was to be attacked; that the fleet was bombarding it; that the soldiers were shooting down



the citizens in its streets. Thousands of the sturdy yeomanry of Massachusetts and Connecticut credited these rumors; they left their farms and their shops, and hastened to the rescue. Before they had advanced far they learned that the reports were untrue. General Gage was alarmed by this significant movement; he did not apprehend its full import, neither did he rightly discern the signs of the times, nor read the spirit of the people; he was a soldier, and understood the power that lies in soldiers and fortifications, but knew nothing of the power of free principles. He determined to fortify the neck which connects Boston with the mainland, and place there a regiment, to cut off all communication between the people in the country and those in the town.

Intelligence of these proceedings spread rapidly through the land. The people took possession of the arsenal at Charlestown from which the powder had been removed. At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, a company led by John Sullivan, afterward a major-general, captured the fort, and carried off one hundred barrels of powder and some cannon. At Newport, in the absence of the men-of-war forty-four pieces of artillery were seized and conveyed to Providence. In Connecticut, the Assembly enjoined upon the towns to lay in a double supply of ammunition, to mount their cannon, and to train the militia frequently. This spirit was not confined to New England, but prevailed in the middle and southern colonies, where the people took energetic measures to put themselves in a posture of defense.

In the midst of this commotion, Gage, thinking to conciliate, summoned the Massachusetts Assembly to meet at Salem; but, alarmed at the spirit manifested at the town meetings in the province, he countermanded the order. The Assembly, however, met; and as no one appeared to administer the oaths,

and open the session, the members adjourned to Concord, and there organized as a Provincial Congress. They elected John Hancock President, and Benjamin Lincoln Secretary. Lincoln was a farmer, and afterward became an efficient major-general in the revolutionary army. This was the first provincial Assembly organized independently of royal authority.

They sent an address to Gage, in which they complained of the recent acts of Parliament; of his own high-handed measures; of his fortifying Boston Neck, and requested him to desist; at the same time they protested their loyalty to the king, and their desire for peace and order. Gage replied that he was acting in self-defense, and admonished them to desist from their own unlawful proceedings.

The Assembly disregarded the admonition, went quietly to work, appointed two committees, one of safety, and the other of supplies,—the former was empowered to call out the minute-men, when it was necessary, and the latter to supply them with provisions of all kinds. They then appointed two general officers—Artemas Ward, one of the judges of the court, and Seth Pomeroy, a veteran of three score and ten, who had seen service in the French war. They resolved to enlist twelve thousand minute-men, and invited the other New England colonies to increase the number to twenty thousand. The note of alarm was everywhere heard; preparations for defense were everywhere apparent. In Virginia the militia companies burnished their arms and practiced their exercises. Washington, their highest military authority, was invited, and often visited different parts of the country, to inspect these volunteers on their review days.

The attention of all was now turned to the new Parliament about to assemble. To some extent, a

change had come over the minds of many of the English people; the religious sympathies of the Dissenters were specially enlisted in favor of the colonists. The papers issued by the Continental Congress had been published and circulated extensively in England, by the exertions of Franklin and others. Their plain, unvarnished statements of facts, and their claim for the colonists to enjoy British as well as natural rights, had elicited sympathy.

Chatham, though much enfeebled, hurried up to London to plead once more for American rights. He brought in a bill, which he hoped would remove the difficulties; but the House spurned every scheme of reconciliation short of absolute submission on the part of the colonists. Lord North, urged on by his colleagues in the ministry, whom he had not strength of will to resist, went further than ever. The Boston Port Bill had not accomplished its design; and now he introduced what was termed the New England Restraining Bill, which deprived the people of those colonies of the privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. He declared Massachusetts was in rebellion, and the other colonies, by their associations, were aiding and abetting her. Parliament pledged itself to aid the king in maintaining his authority.

The next month came intelligence to England, that the Colonial Assemblies had not only approved the resolutions of the Continental Congress, but had determined to support them. To punish them for this audacity, Parliament passed a second Restraining Act, to apply to all the colonies except New York, Delaware, and North Carolina. The object of this mark of favor signally failed; these colonies could not be bribed to desert their sisters.

General Gage had learned, by means of spies, that at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston, the patriots

had collected ammunition and military stores. These he determined to destroy. His preparations were made with the greatest secrecy; but the Sons of Liberty were vigilant. Dr. Warren, one of the committee of safety, noticed the unusual stir; the collection of boats at certain points; that the light infantry and grenadiers were taken off duty. He sent information of what he had seen and suspected to John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were at Lexington. It was rightly surmised that Concord was the object of the intended expedition. It was to leave Boston on the night of the eighteenth of April; on that day Gage issued orders forbidding any one to leave the town after dark. Again the vigilance of Warren had anticipated him. Before his order could go into effect, Paul Revere and William Dawes, two swift and trusty messengers, were on the way to the country, by different routes. A lantern held out from the steeple of the North Church—the concerted signal to the patriots in Charlestown—warned them that something unusual was going on. Messengers from that place hurried to rouse the country.

About ten o'clock, under cover of the darkness, eight or nine hundred men, light infantry and grenadiers, embarked and crossed to Cambridge, and thence, with as little noise as possible, took up their line of march. To their surprise they heard in advance of them the tolling of bells, and the firing of alarm guns; evidently they were discovered. Lieutenant-colonel Smith sent back to Gage for reinforcements, and also ordered Major Pitcairn to press forward, and seize the two bridges at Concord. Pitcairn advanced rapidly and arrested every person he met or overtook, but a countryman, who evaded him, spurred on to Lexington, and gave the alarm. At dawn of day Pitcairn's division reached that place. Seventy or eighty minute-men, with some other per-



sons, were on the green. They were uncertain as to the object of the British. It was thought they wished to arrest Hancock and Adams, both of whom had left the place. Pitcairn ordered his men to halt and load their muskets; then riding up he cried out,—"Disperse, you rebels." "Down with your arms, you villains, and disperse," was echoed by his officers. Confusion ensued; random shots were fired on both sides; then, by a volley from the British, seven men were killed and nine wounded. The Americans dispersed, and the British soldiers gave three cheers for their victory! By whom the first shot was fired is uncertain. Each party charged it upon the other. Be that as it may, here was commenced the eight years' war of the revolution.

Presently Colonel Smith came up, and in half an hour the entire body moved on toward Concord, six miles distant. Information of the firing at Lexington had already reached that place. The minute-men were assembled on the green near the church. About seven o'clock the enemy appeared, in two divisions. The minute-men retreated across a bridge to the top of a neighboring hill. The British placed a strong guard at the bridge, and spent two hours in destroying what stores they could find, as the greater part had been concealed, and pillaging some private dwellings. Meantime the little company on the hill increased rapidly, and soon it numbered about four hundred and fifty. They advanced upon the guard, who fired upon them, and skirmishing commenced. As the British began to retreat they were followed by an irregular and galling fire from behind trees, and fences, and houses. In vain they sent flanking parties to free themselves from their assailants, who were increasing every minute; the nimble yeomanry would retire before these parties, only to appear at a more favorable point. Colonel Smith was severely

wounded, and many of his men killed. He had consumed more than two hours in retreating to Lexington; there, fortunately for him, Lord Percy, who insultingly had marched out of Boston to the tune of Yankee Doodle, met him with a thousand men and two field pieces. The fainting and exhausted troops were received in a hollow square, where they rested, while the fresh soldiers kept the indomitable "rebels" at bay with their field pieces.

While the enemy were thus halting, General Heath, whom the Massachusetts Provincial Congress had appointed to command the minute-men, came upon the ground, and also Dr. Warren. They directed the Americans, whose attacks were now more in concert, but still irregular. The British set fire to dwellings in Lexington, then renewed their retreat, pillaging and burning as they went. The Americans, greatly exasperated, harassed them at every step. Lord Percy's condition became very critical. The country was roused; new assailants poured in from every side; every moment he was more and more encumbered by the number of the wounded, while his ammunition was nearly exhausted. Had he been delayed an hour longer, his retreat would have been cut off by a powerful force from Marblehead and Salem. "If the retreat," writes Washington, "had not been as precipitate as it was—and God knows it could not well have been more so—the ministerial troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off." In this affair, about eight of the Americans were killed or wounded, and of the British nearly three hundred.

Intelligence of this conflict spread rapidly through the country; couriers hastened from colony to colony. In New England, volunteers flew to arms, and in ten days an irregular army completely blockaded the British in Boston, by a line of encampments, that

extended from Roxbury to beyond Charlestown—a distance of nine miles. The fire of other days glowed in the breasts of the old campaigners of the French war,—none were more ready than they. John Stark, whom we have seen leading his men in that war, waited not for invitation nor commission; in ten minutes after he heard the news he was on his way. Israel Putnam, another name associated with deeds of daring in French and Indian warfare, was laboring in his field when the courier passed along. He left the work, mounted a horse, roused his neighbors, and, without changing his clothes, hastened to Boston. Putnam was a native of Salem, Massachusetts, but for many years a resident of Connecticut. Though now almost sixty years of age, he was buoyant in spirits as a boy, impulsive and frank as he was fearless, and too generous to suspect others of guile.

At this crisis, the Massachusetts Congress took energetic measures. A regiment of artillery was formed, the command of which was given to the aged Gridley, who, thirty years before, commanded the artillery at the taking of Louisburg. In the other colonies, the people were not inactive; they seized arms and ammunition wherever found, repudiated the royal authority, and each for itself called a Provincial Congress.

It was suggested to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to seize the two posts, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and thus secure the “key of Canada,” as well as the cannon and other military stores there deposited. Benedict Arnold, who commanded a company in the camp before Boston, entered into the project with great ardor. Arnold was a man of impulsive temper, petulant, headstrong, and reckless of danger; he thirsted for an opportunity to distinguish himself. The Committee gave him the commission of colonel, with authority

to raise men and accomplish the object. He learned that others were engaged in the same enterprise, and without waiting to enlist men, he set out immediately for Vermont. There he met the redoubtable Ethan Allen—an original character—who from his very singularities exerted a great influence over his companions. When he harangued them, as he often did, "his style, though a singular compound of local barbarisms, and scriptural phrases, and oriental wildness, was highly animated and forcible." The territory now known as the State of Vermont, was claimed at this time by both New York and New Hampshire; but the inhabitants preferred to live under the rule of the latter, and formed combinations to resist the authority of New York. Allen was the leader of "the Green Mountain Boys," an association formed for this purpose.

These Green Mountain Boys, numbering about two hundred and seventy, with Allen at their head, were already on their way to Ticonderoga. Within a few miles of the head of Lake Champlain, Arnold overtook them. By virtue of his commission as colonel, he ordered Allen to surrender the command into his hands. Allen refused, nor would his men march under any other leader. It was finally arranged that Arnold should go as a volunteer, retaining the rank of colonel without the command. The following night the party reached Shoreham, a point on the lake opposite Ticonderoga. At dawn of day, as they had but few boats, only eighty-three men with Arnold and Allen had crossed over.

They could delay no longer, lest they should be discovered, and Allen proposed to move on at once to the fort. Guided by a boy of the neighborhood, a brisk run up the hill soon brought them to the entrance. They secured the two sentinels, one of whom they compelled to show the way to the quar-



ters of Captain Delaplace, the commandant. The vigorous knocks of Allen at his door soon roused him. When he appeared, half-awake and half-dressed, Allen flourished his sword, and called upon him to surrender the fort. The commandant stammered out, "By whose authority do you act?" "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," thundered Allen. This was a demonstration not to be resisted. The cheers of Allen's men had already roused the garrison, all of which were taken prisoners.

Two days later Seth Warner, Allen's lieutenant, with a detachment, took Crown Point. Arnold then obtained boats, pushed on, and captured St. John's in the Sorel. Altogether, sixty prisoners were taken, and what was far more important, two hundred cannons and a large supply of gunpowder.

Two days after the affair at Lexington, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, sent a company of marines, who, in the night, entered the capital, Williamsburg, and carried off from the public arsenal about twenty barrels of powder, and conveyed them on board an armed schooner lying in James River. When the inhabitants learned the fact next morning, they were greatly exasperated. Numbers flew to arms with the intention of recovering the powder. By the persuasions of the leading citizens, and of the council, they were restrained from acts of violence.

The Council, however, addressed a remonstrance to the governor, who promised, verbally, to restore the powder when it should be needed. The people deemed this answer unsatisfactory. When intelligence came of the conflict at Concord, it flashed upon their minds that the seizure of the powder and munitions of war in the colonies was concerted by the royal governors, in accordance with instructions from the ministry.

Patrick Henry invited the independent companies of the county of Hanover to meet him at a certain place on the second of May. They, seven hundred strong, obeyed the call. He made known why they were called together; spoke of the fight at Concord, and the occasion of it. Then, at their head, he marched towards Williamsburg, determined to either have the powder returned, or its value in money. On their way a messenger from the frightened governor met them, and tendered the money for the full value of the powder. The money was afterward sent to Congress.

The companies now disbanded, with the understanding that when called upon, they were to be ready to march at a minute's warning. Thus did Virginia emulate Massachusetts.

Dunmore, in the mean while, fled with his family on board a man-of-war, and thence issued one of his harmless proclamations, in which he declared "a certain Patrick Henry and his associates to be in rebellion."

A few days before he had said, "The whole country can easily be made a solitude;" and he threatened to declare freedom to the slaves, arm them, and lay Williamsburg in ashes!

As the news from Lexington and Concord reached the various portions of the colonies the people rose in opposition. The Whigs were indignant at the outrage, and the Royalists censured Gage for his rash and harsh measures.

In New York, the Sons of Liberty, with Robert Sears, the sturdy mechanic, at their head, seized eighty thousand pounds of flour, which was on board of sloops ready to be taken to Boston for the king's troops; they shut up the custom-house, and forbade vessels to leave the harbor for any colony or port which acknowledged British authority; they secured

the arms and ammunition belonging to the city, while the volunteers turned out and paraded the streets. The General Committee was dilatory; another was chosen to act with more energy. An association was formed whose members pledged themselves, "under all ties of religion, honor, and love of country, to submit to committees, and to Congress, to withhold supplies from the British troops, and, at the risk of lives and fortunes, to repel every attempt at enforcing taxation by Parliament."

Similar was the spirit manifested in the Jerseys. In Philadelphia, thousands of the citizens assembled and resolved, "To associate for the purpose of defending with arms, their lives, their property, and liberty." Thomas Mifflin, the warlike young Quaker, urged them in his speech, "not to be bold in declarations and cold in action." Military companies were formed in the neighboring counties, as well as in the city, who armed themselves and daily practiced their exercises.

In Maryland, Eden, the royalist governor, in order to conciliate, gave up to the people the arms and ammunition of the province.

In Charleston, the people at once distributed the twelve hundred stand of arms which they seized in the royal arsenal, while the Provincial Congress, with Henry Laurens, a Huguenot by descent, as their president, declared themselves "ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to secure freedom and safety." The officers of the militia threw up their commissions from the governor, and declared themselves ready to submit to the authority of Congress. Regiments of infantry and rangers were immediately raised.

Georgia, which had hitherto been lukewarm, now took decided ground. The people broke into the royal magazine, from which they took all the powder, five

hundred pounds. The committee wrote words of encouragement and commendation to the people of Massachusetts, and sent them rice and specie.

In North Carolina, as the news passed from place to place, it awakened the spirit of resistance to tyranny. The highlands along her western frontier were settled by Presbyterians of Scot-Irish descent, "who were said to possess the impulsiveness of the Irishman with the dogged resolution of the Covenantanter." A county convention was in session when the courier arrived. Fired with indignation, the delegates resolved to throw off "the authority of the king and Parliament." Ephraim Brevard, "trained in the college at Princeton," and afterward a martyr in the cause, embodied their sentiments in resolutions, which declared: "All laws and commissions, confirmed by or derived from the authority of the king and Parliament to be annulled and vacated." To maintain their rights, they also determined to form nine military companies, and to frame laws for the internal government of the country. This was the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

Such was the spirit that pervaded the minds of the entire people. Throughout the land free principles had laid the train—the spark was applied at Lexington.

On the tenth of May the second Continental Congress commenced its session at Philadelphia. They organized without changing the officers of the year before. In a few days, however, Peyton Randolph resigned the presidency to return to Virginia and preside over the Assembly, which had been called by the governor.

Thomas Jefferson was sent to supply his place as a delegate, and John Hancock was elected president. Harrison, of Virginia, in conducting him to the chair,



said: "We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions." For it was well known that Hancock and Samuel Adams were deemed rebels too great to be pardoned.

Dr. Franklin had returned only a few days before from England, where he had been for some years in the capacity of agent for some of the colonies. There his enlightened statesmanship and far-seeing judgment had won the respect of liberal-minded Englishmen. He was at once chosen a delegate. Also, in addition to the members of the first Congress, appeared George Clinton and Robert R. Livingston, from New York.

The members were encouraged, for the measures of the first Congress had been approved by the assemblies of all the colonies.

The first General Congress met to protest and petition; the second to assume authority and take decisive measures. Then the door was open for reconciliation with the mother country, now it was almost closed. The face of affairs was changed; blood had been wantonly shed, and a beleaguering host of rustic soldiery were besieging the enemy.

Congress was imbued with the spirit of the time. In committee of the whole reports were called for on the state of the country. These disposed of, they passed to other matters; reviewed the events of the last year; investigated the causes which led to the conflicts at Lexington and Concord. The timid proposed to memorialize Parliament once more. No! argued John Adams, and many others; it is useless, we have been spurned from the throne, and our petitions treated with contempt; such a memorial would embarrass our proceedings, and have no influence upon Parliament. Yet another petition was, in form, voted to the king, and while they denied any

intention to cast off their allegiance, they proceeded to put the colonies in a posture of defense.

They formed a "Federal Union," by whose provisions each colony was to manage its own internal concerns; but all measures pertaining to the whole community, such as treaties of peace or alliance, the regulation of commerce, or declaration of war, came under the jurisdiction of Congress. They recognized Him who holds in His hands the destinies of nations. They issued a proclamation for a day of solemn fasting and prayer.

Congress now assumed the authority of the central power of the nation. They forbade persons, under any circumstances, to furnish provisions to the British navy or troops; took measures to enlist an army and to build fortifications, and to procure arms and ammunition. To defray expenses, they issued "Bills of Credit," amounting to two millions of dollars, for whose redemption they pledged the faith of the "United Colonies." In accordance with the request of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, they adopted the volunteers in the camp before Boston, as the continental army. It remained to appoint a Commander-in-chief. On this subject there were diversities of opinion. Some thought a New England army would prefer a New England commander; others strove to appoint a commander acceptable to all sections of the country. The members of Congress acknowledged the military talents of Washington, and appreciated his liberal views as a statesman. As chairman of the committee on military affairs, he had suggested the majority of the rules for the army, and of the measures for defense. At this time came intimations in a private letter from Dr. Warren to Samuel Adams, that many leading men in Massachusetts desired his appointment as commander-in-chief.

Patrick Henry, when asked, on his return home from the first Congress, who of the members was the greatest man, had replied, "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is, by far, the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on the floor."

John Adams took occasion to point out what, under the present circumstances, should be the qualifications of a commander-in-chief, and closed by remarking, that they knew a man who had these qualifications—"a member of this house from Virginia." He alluded to Washington. A few days after, the army was regularly adopted, and the salary of the commander-in-chief fixed at five hundred dollars a month. That arranged, Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, nominated Washington for the office. The election was by ballot, and he was unanimously chosen. The next day the president of Congress formally announced to him his election. Washington rose in his seat and briefly expressed his gratitude for the unexpected honor, and his devotion to the cause. Then he added, "I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in this room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with." Refusing any pay, he continued, "I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire." Congress resolved "to maintain and assist, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes in the defense of American liberty."

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1775

### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

**Battle of Bunker Hill—Death of Warren—Washington on His Way to Join the Army—Generals Charles Lee and Schuyler—State of Affairs in New York—Sir William Johnson—The Condition of the Army—Nathaniel Greene—Morgan and His Riflemen—Wants of the Army—Difficulties on Lake Champlain—Expedition Against Canada—Richard Montgomery—Allen's Rash Adventure—Montreal Captured—Arnold's Toilsome March to Quebec—That Place Besieged—Failure to Storm the Town—Death of Montgomery—Arnold in His Icy Fortress.**

For two months the armies in and around Boston had watched each other. General Gage, in the mean time, had received large reinforcements. These were led by three commanders of reputation: Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Henry Clinton. We may judge of the surprise of these generals to find the king's regulars "hemmed in by what they termed a rustic rout, with calico frocks and fowling-pieces." "What!" exclaimed Burgoyne, "ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king's troops shut up! Well, let us get in, and we'll soon find elbow room." This vain boast was followed by no decided movement. Gage merely sent forth a proclamation, declared the province under martial law, and offered pardon to all the rebels who should return to their allegiance, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. These "rebels" were placed beyond the pale of the king's mercy.

The patriot soldiers, numbering about fifteen thousand, had come from various towns, in independent companies, under their own leaders; their friends



in their respective towns supplied them with provisions. The Massachusetts troops were under General Ward; John Stark led the New Hampshire volunteers; Putman commanded those from Connecticut, and Nathaniel Greene the regiment from Rhode Island. The artillery, consisting of nine pieces, was under the control of the venerable Colonel Gridley. The great majority of the soldiers were clad in their homespun working clothes; some had rifles and some had fowling-pieces. The British greatly exasperated them by taunts and acts expressive of contempt. Opposed to the motley group of patriot soldiers, was a well-disciplined army of ten thousand men, under experienced commanders.

It was rumored that Gage intended to seize and fortify Bunker's Hill and Dorchester Heights—the one lying north and the other south of the town. In order to prevent this, some of the patriots proposed that they should take possession of the hill themselves. The more cautious were opposed to the enterprise, as extremely hazardous; it might provoke a general action, and they were deficient in ammunition and guns. But the fearless Putnam felt confident, with proper intrenchments, the patriots could not fail of success. "The Americans," said he, "are never afraid of their heads, they only think of their legs; shelter them, and they will fight forever." It was reported that the enemy intended to seize Bunker Hill on the night of the eighteenth of June, and therefore not a moment was to be lost. On the evening of Friday the sixteenth, a company of about twelve hundred men, with their arms, and provisions for twenty-four hours, assembled on the common at Cambridge. Very few of them knew where they were going, but all knew that it was into danger. Prayer was offered by President Langdon, of Harvard College. About nine o'clock they

commenced their march, under the command of Colonel William Prescott, a veteran of the French war; one in whom the soldiers had implicit confidence. Charlestown Neck was strongly guarded, but they passed over it in safety, and were soon on the ground. Bunker Hill was designated in the orders, but Breed's Hill, as it had a better command of the harbor, was fortified instead. The ground was speedily marked out, and about midnight the men commenced their labors. Early twilight revealed to the astonished eyes of the British sailors in the harbor the strong redoubt that had sprung up so suddenly on the hill-top, and the Americans still busy at their work. Without waiting for orders, the sloop-of-war *Lively* opened her guns upon them; a floating battery and other ships did the same. The firing roused the people of Boston. Gage, through his spy-glass, noticed Prescott, who was on the parapet inspecting the works. "Who is that officer in command," he asked; "will he fight?" "He is an old soldier, and will fight to the last drop of his blood," replied one who knew Prescott well. "The works must be carried," remarked Gage. An hour later the plan of attack was decided upon by a council of war.

From the heights the Americans saw and heard the bustle of preparation. Repeated messages were sent to General Ward for the promised reinforcements. Putnam hurried to Cambridge to urge the demand in person. Ward hesitated lest he should weaken the main division. It was eleven o'clock before Stark and Reed, with their regiments, were ordered to the relief of Prescott, and the wearied soldiers, who had been laboring all night at the redoubt.

About noon, twenty-eight barges filled with soldiers, under the command of Generals Howe and Pigott, left Boston. The ships kept up an incessant

cannonade to cover their landing. General Howe discovered that the works were stronger than he anticipated, and he sent to General Gage for reinforcements; his men, while waiting, were regaled with refreshments and "grog." Meantime the Americans strengthened their works, and formed a rustic breastwork; to do this, they pulled up a post-and-rail fence, placed it behind a stone fence, and filled the space between with new-mown grass. This extended down the side of the hill north of the redoubt to a swamp.

Now they were cheered by the sight of Stark, who appeared with five hundred men. As he marched leisurely along, some one suggested a rapid movement. The veteran replied, "One fresh man in action is worth ten tired ones"; and he moved quietly on. A part of his force halted with Putnam at Bunker Hill, and a part joined Knowlton behind the fence breastwork. About two o'clock, Dr. Warren, who had recently been appointed major-general, but had not received his commission, arrived. He came, as did Pomeroy, to serve in the ranks. When Putnam pointed him to the redoubt, and said, "There you will be under cover." "Don't think," replied Warren, "that I seek a place of safety—where will the attack be the hottest?" Still pointing to the same spot, Putnam answered: "That is the enemy's object; if that can be maintained the day is ours." When Warren entered the redoubt, the soldiers received him with hearty cheers. Prescott offered him the command, which he gracefully declined, saying: "I shall be happy to learn from a soldier of your experience."

The day was clear and bright: the British, in their brilliant uniforms, presented a fine appearance. Thousands watched every movement from the housetops in Boston and from the neighboring hills. Fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers were to meet the

enemy, for the first time, in a regular battle. The expedition had commenced with prayer on Cambridge green, and now Minister McClintock, of New Hampshire, was passing among the men praying and exhorting them to stand firm.

About half-past two o'clock, the British, confident of an easy victory, advanced; one division, under General Pigott, marched up the hill to storm the redoubt in front, while the others, under General Howe, advanced against the fence breastwork, in order to gain the rear and cut off the retreat. The redoubt was commanded by Prescott. Stark, Knowlton, and Reed, with some of the New Hampshire and Connecticut men, were at the fence. As he saw the enemy advancing, Prescott, with his usual presence of mind, passed among his men and encouraged them. "The redcoats," said he, "will never reach the redoubt, if you will but withhold your fire till I give the order, and be careful not to shoot over their heads." The impetuous Putnam, who seems to have had no special command, was everywhere. "Wait till you see the whites of their eyes, aim at their waistbands, pick off the handsome coats, steady my lads," were his directions as he rode along the lines. "Wait for orders and fire low," was the policy that controlled the movements on Bunker Hill.

The British, as they advanced, kept up an incessant discharge of musketry. Not a sound issued from the Americans. When Pigott's division came within forty paces, those in the redoubt levelled their guns for a moment, then Prescott gave the word: "Fire!" Whole ranks were cut down. The enemy fell back, but urged on by their officers, again advanced. The Americans allowed them to come nearer than before, but received them more warmly. The carnage was dreadful; Pigott himself ordered a retreat. At the same moment Howe's division was



also retreating. The brave band who guarded the fence, had allowed him to advance within thirty paces, then had poured in their reserved fire with deadly effect. Both divisions retired down the hill to the shore. Gage had threatened that he would burn the town of Charlestown if the Americans should occupy the heights. The threat was now carried into execution by bombs thrown from the ships and Copp's Hill. The conflagration added new horrors to the scene.

The British resolved upon a second attack. This proved a counterpart of the first. By volleys discharged at the right moment, and with unerring aim, their whole force was driven back. Their officers labored to check them, even urged them on with their swords, but in vain, they retreated to the shore. "If we drive them back once more," exclaimed Prescott, "they cannot rally again." "We are ready for the redcoats again," was the response from the redoubt.

General Clinton watched the movements from Copp's Hill. He witnessed the repulse of the "king's regulars" with astonishment; he hastened over as a volunteer with reinforcements. Some officers were opposed to another attack; they thought it little short of butchery to lead men in the face of such sharp-shooting. Now they learned that the ammunition of the Americans was nearly exhausted. They resolved to carry the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The attack was to be specially directed against an open space which they had noticed between the breastwork and the fortified fence. The Americans used what little powder they had with great effect; they could pour in but a single volley upon the enemy; but by this a number of British officers were slain. The British, however, advanced with fixed bayonets, and assailed the redoubt on three sides. The first who appeared on the parapet,

as he cried out, "The day is ours," was shot down. Now followed a desperate encounter; those Americans who had not bayonets fought with stones and the butts of their muskets. It was impossible to maintain the ground; Prescott gave the word, and they commenced an orderly retreat. The aged Pomeroy clubbed his musket and retreated with his face to the enemy. Stark, Knowlton, and Reed, kept their position at the fence till their companions had left the redoubt and passed down the hill, and thus prevented the enemy from cutting off the retreat; then they slowly retired.

About three thousand British were engaged in this battle, and about fifteen hundred Americans. The British lost more than one thousand men, an unusual proportion of whom were officers, among whom was Major Pitcairn, of Lexington memory; while the Americans lost but four hundred and fifty, but among these was Dr. Warren. He was one of the last to leave the redoubt; he had scarcely passed beyond it when he fell. On the morning of that day he had expressed himself willing, if necessary, to die for his country.—That country has embalmed his name as one of the bravest and noblest of her sons.

The raw militia had met the British "regulars," and had proved themselves their equals; they had left the field only when destitute of ammunition.

The British ministry was not satisfied with this victory, nor were the Americans discouraged by this defeat. When the news of the battle reached England, General Gage was at once recalled. When Washington learned of it from the courier who was hastening to Congress with the news, he exclaimed: "The liberties of the country are safe!"

This famous battle took place on the seventeenth of June; on the twenty-first, Washington accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler, left Philadel-

phia to join the army as Commander-in-chief. General Charles Lee was an Englishman by birth; a soldier by profession, he had been engaged in campaigns in various parts of Europe, and in the French war. Frank in disposition, but sarcastic in manner, and evidently soured by disappointment, he had resigned the British service, and for some reason indulged in feelings of bitter animosity to the English name. His connection with their cause was counted of great consequence by the Americans.

General Philip Schuyler was a native of New York, of Dutch descent. As a man of wealth, position, education, and well-known integrity, he had great influence in that province. He had some experience, also, in military affairs; during the French war, when a youth of two and twenty, he campaigned with Sir William Johnson and his Mohawks. Though in his native province the rich and influential were generally loyalists, from the beginning of the troubles Schuyler ardently espoused the cause of the colonists. He was versed in civil affairs, having been a member of the New York General Assembly, and recently a delegate to Congress, where his practical good sense had attracted attention. At this time, danger was apprehended from the Mohawks, who lived in the northern and central parts of New York. It was feared that, influenced by the Johnson family, they would rally against the colonists. Sir William Johnson, of whom we have spoken, the ancestor of this family, was of Scotch-Irish descent, a man of vigorous mind, but of coarse associations; he had acquired great influence over the Indians by adopting their customs, had married an Indian wife, sister of Brandt, the chief, afterward so famous. For nearly thirty years he was agent for the Five Nations; he became rich by traffic, and lived in his castle on the Mohawk river, in baronial style, with Scotch High-

landers as tenants. Sir William was dead, but his son and heir, John Johnson, and his son-in-law, Guy Johnson, were suspected of tampering with the Mohawks. No one knew the state of affairs in New York better than Schuyler; he was acquainted with the tory aristocracy; he understood the Johnsons, and to him Washington intrusted the charge of that province.

As a singular incident it may be noted that as Washington approached New York by way of New Jersey, the ship on board of which was the royalist governor Tryon, who was just returning from England, came into the harbor. The committee appointed to do the honors was somewhat perplexed. Fortunately their principles were not tested: these two men, the one representative of the Continental Congress, the other of the king, did not reach the city at the same time. The escort that received Washington, were at leisure, a few hours later, to render to Governor Tryon the same honor.

The Commander-in-chief was met at Springfield by the committee of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and escorted to the camp. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed; the soldiers everywhere greeted him with hearty cheers. Such a welcome, while it gratified his feelings, was calculated to increase his sense of responsibility. A great work was before him—a work not yet begun; he was to bring order out of confusion; to lead on the cause of freedom to a successful issue. In his letters written about this time, he expresses a calm trust in a Divine Providence, that wisely orders all things.

A personal survey of the army revealed more perfectly the difficulties to be overcome. It numbered about fourteen thousand men; to be effective, it must be increased to twenty or thirty thousand. The troops were unorganized and undisciplined, without



uniforms, poorly clad, and imperfectly armed. To discipline these volunteers would be no easy task; they could not be subjected to strict military rule. Even among this noble band of patriot officers were jealousies to be soothed, and prejudices to be regarded. Some felt that they had been overlooked or underrated in the appointments made by Congress.

A council of war resolved to maintain the present line of works, to capture the British, or drive them out of Boston. Washington chose for his headquarters a central position at Cambridge; here was stationed Major-General Putnam and Brigadier-General Heath. General Artemas Ward was stationed with the right wing at Roxbury, and General Charles Lee commanded the left on Prospect Hill. Under Lee were the Brigadier-Generals Green and Sullivan, and under Ward the Generals Spencer and Thomas. Of this number, Greene merits special notice. His father a farmer, miller, and anchor smith, as well as occasionally a Quaker preacher, endeavored to train his son in his own faith. The son's tastes were decidedly military. Of a genial disposition, he was fond of social amusements, but never at the expense of things more important. He cultivated his mind by reading the best English authors of the time on science and history; to do this he snatched the moments from daily toil. Industrious and strictly temperate, his perceptions were clear, and his love of order almost a passion. With zest he read books on military tactics, and before he had laid aside the Quaker costume, he took lessons in the science of military drill by watching the exercises and maneuvers of the British troops on parade on Boston common. Their order and precision had a charm for the embryo general. None took a deeper interest than he in the questions that agitated the country, and he

was more than once chosen by the people to represent them in the Colonial Legislature.

The army was now joined by some companies of riflemen, mostly Scotch and Irish; backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, enlisted by orders of Congress. They had marched six hundred miles in twenty days. In their peculiar dress, the hunting-shirt, and their motto, "Liberty or Death," worn on their head-band, their robust appearance, their stature, scarcely one of them being less than six feet, excited admiration, much more did their feats of sharp-shooting. "When advancing at a quick step," it was said, "they could hit a mark of seven inches diameter at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards." Their leader, Daniel Morgan, was a native of New Jersey, though brought up on the frontiers of Virginia. When a youth his education had been neglected; he could scarcely read or write; unpolished in his manners, generous in his impulses, honorable in his own feelings, he instinctively scorned meanness or duplicity in others. In his twentieth year, as a wagoner, he took his first lessons in warfare in Braddock's unfortunate campaign. His character adapted itself to emergencies. When left to act in responsible situations, his good sense was never at fault; wherever placed he performed well his part.

As soon as he obtained the requisite information, Washington laid before Congress the state of the army, with suggestions as to the best means to furnish it with provisions, munitions, and men. He also suggested that diversities of uniform had a tendency to encourage sectional feelings, and recommended Congress to provide at least ten thousand hunting shirts, adding, "I know nothing in a speculative view more trivial, yet which, if put in practice, would have a happier tendency to unite the men, and abolish

those provincial distinctions that lead to jealousy and dissatisfaction." This was the origin of the peculiar uniform of American soldiers. A few days after this report was sent to Congress, it was discovered that, by mistake, a false return of the powder in the camp had been made—the supply was nearly exhausted. This discovery crippled every movement, and left the Americans at the mercy of the enemy should they be attacked. Their only safety lay in silence and inaction. Messengers were hurried in every direction to collect and send to the camp all the powder that could be obtained. In about a fortnight they procured a small supply.

We now turn to affairs in New York, where, it will be remembered, Schuyler had command. After their brave exploits on Lake Champlain, Arnold and Allen both claimed authority over the captured forts—the former referred to Massachusetts, the latter to Connecticut, to confirm their respective claims. As these forts belonged to New York, Allen wrote to the Congress of that province for supplies of men and money to defend them. But the whole matter was, at length, referred to the Continental Congress, which decided that New York should have the charge of the forts, and authorized it to call upon New England for aid in their defense. The call was made upon Connecticut, in answer to which Colonel Hinman, with a thousand men, was sent to join Arnold. Allen's Green Mountain Boys were by this time disbanded, as their term of enlistment had expired. These war spirits, Arnold and Allen, had urged upon the Continental Congress to furnish them means to invade Canada. Allen, in company with Seth Warner, went in person to that body for authority to raise a new regiment. It was granted, and the New York Congress was recommended to receive this regiment of their ancient enemies into the reg-

ular army. They were to choose their own leader. For some reason Warner was chosen, and Allen entirely neglected; but not to be baffled when a fight was on hand, he joined the army as a volunteer. Arnold claimed the entire authority at Ticonderoga, after the departure of Allen, and difficulties arose between him and Hinman. A committee sent from the Congress of Massachusetts to inquire into the matter, decided that the command belonged to Hinman. Arnold swore he would not be second, disbanded his men, threw up his commission, and hurried to Cambridge.

Congress was, at first, opposed to the invasion of Canada, and even thought of dismantling the forts on Lake Champlain. Recent intelligence that the authorities of that province were making preparations to recapture the forts and to regain the command of the lake induced them to determine upon its invasion in self-defense. Schuyler learned that seven hundred of the king's troops were in Canada; that Guy Johnson, with three hundred tenants and Indians, was at Montreal; that St. John's was fortified and war vessels were building there, and almost ready to pass by the Sorel into the lake. Yet he was encouraged by rumors that some of the inhabitants were disaffected, and might be induced to join against the mother country; if so, the British would be deprived of a valuable recruiting station. Two expeditions against Canada were determined upon, one by way of Lake Champlain, the other by the rivers Kennebec and Chaudiere. The former under Schuyler; the latter was intrusted to Arnold, who was in the camp chafed and disappointed, but ready for any daring enterprise that promised distinction.

Operations were to commence by way of the lake, where were assembled the New York troops, and some from New England. Schuyler was ably sec-



ended by Brigadier-general Richard Montgomery. Montgomery was a native of Ireland; had, when a youth, been the companion of Wolfe in the French war. He resigned the British service, and remaining in America, settled in New York, where he married. A man of education and refinement, his generous sentiments led him to espouse ardently the cause of popular rights.

General Schuyler passed from Ticonderoga down the lake and took possession of the Isle aux Noix, in the Sorel river. This position commanded the entrance into Lake Champlain. He then made an attempt on St. John's, but finding it more strongly garrisoned than had been represented, he retired to the Isle aux Noix, with the intention of fortifying that important post, but severe sickness compelled him to return to Albany. The command devolved upon Montgomery. Schuyler was soon able to send him supplies and ammunition, and also reinforcements under General Wooster.

Ethan Allen, as usual, without orders, went on one of his rash expeditions. With only eighty-three men, he attempted to take Montreal, was overpowered and taken prisoner with his men. He himself was sent in irons to England to be tried as a rebel. Here closed the connection of this daring leader of the Green Mountain Boys with the war of the revolution. He was not tried, but liberated; then returned home, but from some dissatisfaction took no further part in the struggle.

Montgomery sent a detachment which took Fort Chambly, a few miles further down the river, thus placing troops between St. John's and Canada. Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of that province, made exertions, but without success, to raise a force for the relief of St. John's. But when on his way he was repulsed at the passage of the St. Lawrence by

Colonel Seth Warner; another party going up the Sorel on the same errand was also driven back. The garrison at St. John's presently surrendered, and immediately the energetic Montgomery pushed on to Montreal, which submitted at the first summons, while Carleton with a few followers fled down the river to Quebec. This was a very seasonable capture for the Americans, as it supplied them with woollen clothes, of which necessities they were in great need.

Montgomery made great exertions in the midst of discouragements, arising from insubordination, desertions, and the lateness of the season, to push on and join Arnold before Quebec. Two months before this time that leader had left the camp before Boston with eleven hundred men, among whom were three companies of riflemen, under Morgan, to pass up the Kennebec, and thence across the wilderness to Quebec, there to unite with the force from New York. Aaron Burr, then a youth of twenty, accompanied this expedition as a volunteer. It was a perilous undertaking. The journey was one of intense suffering and incessant toil. Six weeks they spent in dragging their boats up the river, and carrying the baggage around rapids; they cut their way through thickets and briars, forded streams, climbed mountains, breasted storms, and were so much in want of food that they devoured their dogs, and even their moccasins. Their number was reduced to about six hundred effective men; one entire division had returned home with the sick and disabled. In a forlorn condition the remainder suddenly appeared at Point Levi, opposite Quebec. The inhabitants were astonished at the apparition, and could Arnold have crossed immediately, he might have taken the town; but was unable to do so for want of boats. In a few days came Carleton from Montreal; he put the town in a state of defense, and increased his force to

twelve hundred men by enlisting traders, sailors, and others.

Although two armed vessels were on the watch, Arnold managed to cross the St. Lawrence, clambered up the Heights of Abraham by the same rugged path that Wolfe had used, and boldly challenged the garrison to battle. The contest was declined. It was useless for him to attempt to besiege the town without cannon, so he moved twenty miles up the river, where he met Montgomery. The toilsome march through the wilderness nearly stripped Arnold's men of their clothes; the woolen's obtained at Montreal were to them also an acceptable protection against the rigors of a Canada winter.

Their united force amounted to only nine hundred men. With these, Montgomery, who assumed the command, advanced to Quebec. The flag he sent to demand a surrender was fired upon. A battery must be built; the ordinary material was not at hand, but ingenuity supplied its place. Gabions were filled with snow and ice, over which water was poured, and a Canada winter soon rendered them solid, but no ingenuity could render the ice otherwise than brittle—every shot from the town shattered it to pieces. It was now found that their cannon were too small. They could not batter the walls, and it was fruitless to attempt to scale them. Some other plan must be adopted.

It was determined to make a sudden attack on the lower town. Montgomery, with one division, was to advance upon the south side, while Arnold was to make an attempt upon the north. At the same time feint movements were to be made against the upper town, and signal rockets fired from the different points to distract and divert the attention of the enemy. On the thirty-first of December a blinding snow-storm favored their enterprise. At two o'clock

on the morning of that day they were on the march. The feint that was to cover the movement of Montgomery was successful. Undiscovered he descended from the Heights of Abraham, passing safely around Cape Diamond to the defile that led to the town. The pass, at all time difficult, was not obstructed by ice and drifting snow. It was defended by barriers guarded by Canadian militia. Taken by surprise, they fled from the picket. Montgomery passed the first barrier unopposed. As he stepped beyond it, sanguine and exultant with hope, he exclaimed: "Push on, my brave boys; Quebec is ours!" Just then a single gun loaded with grape-shot was fired from a battery; he fell, and by his side his aids and many others who had answered to his cheering call. The soldiers, disheartened at the fall of their brave leader, were willing to abandon the town, under the lead of Quartermaster Campbell, leaving the bodies of the slain Montgomery, Cheeseman, and MacPherson where they fell.

By some neglect, no feint movement was made to cover the march of Arnold. He was harassed by a flanking fire as he pushed on to the entrance of the town. His leg being shattered by a ball, he was unable to lead his men against the battery. Morgan assumed the command, and with his riflemen stormed it and captured the men. At daylight he reached the second battery, which was also carried; but now the forces of the British were concentrated at this point. Morgan's party made a brave resistance, but were overpowered by numbers and compelled to surrender. He himself was the last to submit. When called upon by the British soldiers to deliver up his sword, he refused, planted himself against a wall, and defied them to take it. They threatened to shoot him; his men expostulated. At length he saw a man—a priest he knew him to be from his dress; to him



he gave it, saying: "I will give my sword to you, but not a scoundrel of those cowards shall take it out of my hands." The bravery of Morgan and his men was appreciated by Carleton; as prisoners, they were treated with special kindness.

Arnold now retired about three miles up the river, and there in a camp whose ramparts were formed of frozen snow and ice, he blockaded Quebec through the winter. Here we leave him for the present.

Montgomery was at first buried at Quebec. When nearly half a century had passed away, New York remembered her adopted son. She transferred his remains to her metropolis, and with appropriate honors reinterred them in St. Paul's church yard.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

1775—1776

### WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

Meeting of Congress; Alarming Evils Require Its Attention—British Cruisers—Portland Burned—Efforts to Defend the Coast—Congress Acts With Energy—Parliament Resolves to Crush the Rebels—Henry Knox—Difficulties in the Army—Provincial Prejudices—Success of the Privateers—British Theatricals—The Union Flag—Affairs in New York—Rivington's Gazette—Governor Tryon—General Lee in the City—The Johnsons—Dunmore's Measures in Virginia; Norfolk Burned—Defeat of North Carolina Tories—Lee at the South—Cannon and Powder Obtained—Dorchester Heights Fortified—Boston Evacuated—Washington in New York—British and German Troops in Canada—Numerous Disasters—The Retreat from Canada—Horatio Gates—A British Fleet Before Fort Moultrie—Gloomy Prospects.

When the Continental Congress reassembled, delegates from Georgia took their seats for the first time, and the style was assumed of The Thirteen United Colonies.

During the session a delegate from beyond the mountains presented himself as the representative of the colony of Transylvania, the germ of the present State of Kentucky (settled by those bold pioneers, Boone, Harrod, and Henderson), but the delegate of the fourteenth colony was rejected on the ground that Virginia claimed the territory.

Alarming evils required the prompt attention of Congress. The army was almost destitute of ammunition and military stores; the coast, to a great extent, unprotected; British cruisers hovered on the shores of New England; demanded of the inhabitants supplies; burned and pillaged the towns. The notorious Captain Wallace was stationed in Narragan-

sett Bay; Stonington and Bristol had been bombarded, and Newport was threatened with destruction. The British Admiral, Graves, it was said, had issued orders to burn all the rebel towns from Halifax to Boston. This was no idle rumor. At Falmouth, now Portland, in Maine, the destruction began. This patriotic little town had, some time before, resolutely repulsed Lieutenant Mowatt of the British navy. One evening he appeared with several vessels in the harbor, prepared to mete out the punishment due for such rebellion. He informed the inhabitants of his intention, and allowed them two hours "to remove the human species out of the town." A further respite until nine o'clock next morning was with difficulty obtained. The people removed during the night; then, by means of bombs and carcasses, this flourishing village of three hundred houses was laid in ashes. The other towns assumed a posture of defense, and avoided a similar ruin.

The colonies separately took measures to defend their coasts against such attacks. Already Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina had appointed Naval Boards, and equipped armed vessels. The British ships had been driven from the harbor at Charleston; a powder ship had been captured by a South Carolina vessel. Washington had sent cruisers into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Massachusetts Bay, to intercept supplies intended for the enemy. One of these, the schooner *Lee*, commanded by Captain Manly, deserves particular mention. She did the country good service. Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut now equipped a few small vessels. Although a few harbors were thus defended, the force that protected the coast was still insufficient.

Congress applied themselves vigorously to remedy these evils. They forwarded some of the powder

seized by the South Carolinians to the camp; appointed a secret committee to import it from the West Indies; took measures to establish mills for its manufacture, and foundries for the making of cannon. They licensed privateers, and ordered gunboats to be prepared for the defense of the harbors; appointed a Naval Committee which was authorized to build thirteen frigates; but, alas! want of funds interfered sadly with the accomplishment of these proposed measures.

In this Naval Committee we recognize the germ of the Navy Department. About this time a secret committee was authorized to open a private correspondence with the friends of the cause in England, Ireland, and elsewhere; this grew into the State Department. Thus was the Continental Congress gradually laying the foundation of the present government of the United States.

Parliament, in the meantime, took measures to crush the "rebels"; enacted laws against them, cruel in the extreme; gave orders to treat them in warfare not as equals, but as criminals, who should be thankful to escape the gallows. The ministry proclaimed all ships trading to the colonies lawful prizes; and the crews of all captured colonial trading vessels virtually slaves; these were doomed to serve in the royal navy as marines. Parliament also voted to increase their army in America to forty thousand men—of this number twenty-five thousand had yet to be raised. They could not be obtained in Great Britain; men would not enlist. Lord Howe had written to the ministry that Catholic Irish soldiers could not be trusted, and suggested the employment of German troops. Negotiations were accordingly commenced with two of the little German principalities, Brunswick and Hesse Cassel; and the English monarch hired seventeen thousand Germans, or Hessians, to



aid in subduing the descendants of Englishmen in America. In vain did the best and most humane in Parliament oppose these measures. There was in England an honorable minority, who felt for the cause of the colonists. Burke and Barre stood firm; Conway and the Duke of Grafton resigned their offices and joined the opposition; Lord Effingham and the son of Pitt threw up their commissions in the army rather than take part in the unnatural struggle. The mercantile interests of the country, and especially the Corporation of London, were opposed to the measures of Parliament. Intelligence of them aroused the Americans to greater exertions, and deepened their hostility to the mother country.

Since the battle of Bunker Hill, the armies in and around Boston had been inactive—the British from choice, the Americans from want of ammunition. Washington was anxious to be ready when the bay should be frozen to pass over the town on the ice. But he must have powder and ordnance.

Henry Knox, a bookseller of Boston, had entered with great zeal into the cause of his country. He had an intuitive skill in the use of artillery, which he first displayed on Bunker Hill, and afterward in planning the defenses of the camp. His aptness and energy attracted the attention of Washington. Knox proposed to go to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and bring from those places the cannon and powder that could be spared. Washington approved the suggestion, wrote to Schuyler at Albany to give his assistance, and to Congress, recommending Knox as colonel of a regiment of artillery. Knox immediately set out.

Other difficulties surrounded the army. The soldiers had enlisted but for one year, their terms would expire before the first of January. In anticipation of this, a committee of the Continental Congress,

consisting of Dr. Franklin, Colonel Harrison, of Virginia, and Thomas Lynch, of Carolina, met at Cambridge, with committees from the New England colonies, to reorganize the army, and to devise means to increase it to thirty-two thousand.

The committees were in favor of an attack upon Boston as soon as practicable. Their plans were well laid, but how could they be carried out? The soldiers were unwilling to re-enlist; the zeal of the patriot army had begun to flag; winter was coming on; they were ill-fitted to endure its hardships; their fuel was scanty and their clothing poor; their families needed their presence; the attractions of home presented a delightful contrast to the privations of a winter campaign. Their patriotism was not extinct, but they were weary and discouraged. Says Washington, in a letter: "The desire of retiring into a chimney corner seized the troops as soon as their terms expired."

Those who were willing to re-enlist, would do so only on certain conditions. They must know under what officers they were to be placed. Provincial prejudices had their effect; the men of one colony hesitated to serve with those of another, or under officers not of their own choosing. It is pleasing to record one instance of high-minded patriotism—doubtless there were many. Colonel Asa Whitcombe, a worthy and experienced officer, was not reappointed on account of his advanced age. His men took offense, and refused to re-enlist. The colonel himself set them an example by enlisting himself as a private soldier. A younger officer immediately resigned the command of his regiment that Whitcombe might be appointed, which was done.

On the first of December, some days before their terms expired, a portion of the Connecticut troops began to return home; they were unwilling even to

remain in camp till their places could be supplied. Their arms were retained at an assessed value.

In the midst of this gloom the privateers did good service. The camp was thrown into ecstasies by the arrival of a long train of wagons laden with military stores. The brave Captain Manly had captured off Cape Anna a brigantine laden with guns, mortars, and working tools, designed for the British army. Among the cannon thus obtained was an immense mortar. This was deemed so great a prize, that in the joy of the moment, it was proposed to give it a name. "Old Putman mounted it, dashed on it a bottle of rum, and gave it the name of Congress."

The blockade of the British was so stringent that they began to suffer seriously for fuel and fresh provisions: they could obtain none from the land side, while the coast was closely watched. Abundant supplies were sent from England, but these were often wrecked or captured. Some of the poorer houses were taken down to supply fuel, and many of the poorer people sent out of the town in order to lessen the demand for provisions.

To the grief of the patriotic inhabitants, the Old South Church, that time-honored and sacred edifice, was converted into a riding-school for Burgoyne's light horse, and the pastor's library used to kindle fires. In retaliation, the soldiers converted the Episcopal church at Cambridge into barracks, and melted the leaden pipes of the organ into bullets. The British officers beguiled their time by getting up balls and theatricals. Among the plays performed was one, written by General Burgoyne, caricaturing the American army and its officers.

On the first of January the Union Flag was unfurled, for the first time, over the camp at Cambridge. It was emblematic of the state of the country. The English cross retained in one corner, inti-

mated a still existing relation with the mother country, while the thirteen stripes of red and white that represented the thirteen colonies, now united for self-government and resistance to oppression, were broadly significant of the New Republic that was to grow out of this union.

The year opened drearily for the patriots. There were less than ten thousand men in the camp among whom were many undisciplined recruits, and many without arms. The people were impatient—why not capture or drive the enemy out of Boston? they asked on all sides. The situation of Washington was painful in the extreme: he could not publish his reasons lest the enemy should learn his weakness. Under these circumstances he writes thus to a confidential friend: "We are now left with a good deal less than half-raised regiments and about five thousand militia. \* \* \* If I shall be able to rise superior to these and many other difficulties, which might be enumerated, I shall most religiously believe that the finger of Providence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies."

About this time ships commanded by Sir Henry Clinton left the harbor of Boston on a secret expedition. It was justly surmised that he was bound for New York. We turn once more to the state of affairs in that province.

As has been said, much of the wealth and influence of New York was on the side of the Tories. Richmond and Queen's counties had refused to send delegates to the Provincial Congress. Governor Tryon, who had retired to a British man-of-war in the harbor, kept up a correspondence with the friends of the royal cause in the city. There was published the most influential Tory journal in the country, "Rivington's Gazette"—"a thorn in the side of the patriots." Many who were opposed to this journal



were unwilling to adopt violent measures; the committee of safety refused to interfere with it. Colonel Isaac Sears, one of the boldest and most energetic of the New York Sons of Liberty, collected, in Connecticut, about a hundred horsemen, dashed into the city, broke the press and carried away the types to New Haven.

The possession of New York, as it was "the key to the whole continent, a passage to Canada, to the Great Lakes, and to all the Indian nations," was all-important to the patriots. It was determined to place troops there. Sears, seconded by the authority of Governor Trumbull, proceeded to form regiments in Connecticut. Washington ordered General Charles Lee to take command of these regiments and proceed with them to New York, put that city in a state of defense, call in aid from New Jersey to disarm the Tories on Long Island and elsewhere—duties which Lee proceeded forthwith to perform. Governor Tyron threatened to bombard the city if he entered it with the Connecticut troops. The people were greatly alarmed. The provincial Congress requested Lee not to advance for the present. He was determined to push on with a sufficient number of troops to secure the city, and threatened in his turn, "if they make a pretext of my presence to fire on the town the first house set in flames by their guns shall be the funeral-pile of some of their best friends." He entered the city on Sunday, February fourth, and encamped on the spot where the City Hall now stands, then a suburb known as "The Fields."

The threats and counter-threats had wrought up the feelings of the people to a state of intense excitement. During the day this was greatly increased; cannon were heard from the Narrows. Sir Henry Clinton was entering the harbor. Many of the inhabitants hastened from the city; on the afternoon of

that Sabbath day Kingsbridge was thronged with people and wagons on their way to the country. But these fears were soon relieved. Clinton gave notice that he came merely to pay a visit to his "friend Tryon." He remained but a short time, then sailed away to North Carolina. His mysterious expedition and his "whimsical civility" to his "friend Tryon" gave rise to much speculation; though, as he had but few troops, his movements had, as yet, created but little alarm. Lee now proceeded to put the city in a state of defense.

Serious difficulties threatened the interior of the province. Guy Johnson had retired to Canada; Sir John Johnson had forfeited his "patent", and gathered about him his Highlanders and Mohawks. Schuyler proceeded to disarm and disband this dangerous company. Sir John gave his parole not to take up arms against America. A few months afterward he was suspected of breaking his word; to avoid arrest, he fled to Canada, where he received a colonel's commission, and organized the regiments called the "Royal Greens," afterward so renowned for deeds of cruelty.

During this winter Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, who, like Tryon, had taken refuge in one of the king's ships, had been engaged in intrigues against the colonists. He sent a vessel to Boston with supplies which, however, was captured. In a letter found on board he invited General Howe to transfer the seat of war to the South; he also landed at Norfolk, carried off a printing press, published a proclamation that promised freedom to the slaves or indented white servants of the patriots who would join his cause. With a force thus collected he took possession of the town. Fugitive slaves and others began to flock to his banner. Virginia raised new regiments to dislodge him and oppose strong movements that

were making in his favor. The second regiment, under Woodford, took possession of the narrow neck which connects Norfolk with the mainland, and compelled Dunmore to re-embark. Soon after he returned, bombarded the town, and landed a party who burned a portion of it to the ground. The patriots burned the remainder lest it should afford shelter to its enemies. Thus perished the principal shipping port of Virginia, her largest and richest town.

The British were secretly planning an invasion of the South. Governor Martin, of North Carolina, who, like many of the royal governors of that day, carried on operations from on board a ship, was stirring up the Tories of that province, many of whom were Highlanders. He hoped to gather a land force to co-operate with Sir Peter Parker, who was on his way from Ireland with a fleet of ten ships, on board of which were seven regiments. The movements of Sir Henry Clinton could now be accounted for. He had left Boston to take command of the land forces in this intended invasion: he stopped to confer on the subject with Tryon, who had been governor of North Carolina.

Martin had commissioned two prominent Scotchmen McDonald and McLeod—both recent emigrants, and officers of the British army. General McDonald enlisted some fifteen hundred men and marched for the coast, but the North Carolina patriots were on the alert. He was intercepted at Moore's Creek Bridge, sixteen miles from Wilmington. Colonel McLeod was killed; MacDonald and eight hundred and fifty loyalists were taken prisoners. He and his officers were sent away to the north.

This defeat, which at first glance may appear of little consequence, was important in its bearing; it interfered for a time with the plans of Clinton and Martin. This delay was most valuable to the patri-

ots; they had time to collect forces and mature plans for defense. General Lee was appointed by Congress to take command of the southern army and to watch Clinton who was hovering on the coast in expectation of the British squadron. After long delays it arrived at the mouth of Cape Fear River. Congress learned from intercepted letters that Charleston was to be attacked. There, at the first alarm six thousand men from Virginia and the Carolinas had assembled. The indefatigable Lee reached the city just as Clinton appeared in the harbor. Had the enemy attacked that place at once they might have taken it with ease. It was, wrote Lee, "perfectly defenseless." The opportunity was not improved, and both parties began to fortify and prepare for a contest. Here we leave them for the present, and return to the camp before Boston.

During the month of January there was little improvement in the state of the army. On the tenth of February Washington writes: "Without men, without arms, without ammunition, little is to be done." The patriots had looked hopefully toward Canada, only to be disappointed. Montgomery had fallen; Morgan and his brave band were prisoners; the remnant of the shattered forces that lingered with Arnold in his icy fortress before the walls of Quebec, could accomplish nothing. The whole line of the Atlantic coast was threatened; and in view of these circumstances Washington was anxious to strike a decisive blow that should encourage the desponding and revive popular enthusiasm. In truth, the state of public feeling demanded such a course. Congress had authorized him to push the attack upon Boston to the destruction of the town, should it be necessary. John Hancock, who had large possessions there, said: "Do it, and may God crown your attempt with success." When the bay became frozen



Washington was impatient to cross over on the ice; again and again he proposed an attack, but a council of war as often decided that the force was still too weak, the ammunition too scant. Meanwhile, Putnam was actively engaged in constructing works on the neighboring heights. Many of the labors conducted by the brave old general had to be attended to in the nighttime to avoid the fire from the enemy's ships. Toward spring affairs began to wear a brighter aspect. Ten new regiments of militia were enlisted; the great want that paralyzed every effort — powder — was supplied from various quarters; some from New York, some from Bermuda; the Connecticut mills were also in operation. Now, to the great joy of the camp, Knox returned with his long train of sledges laden with ammunition, and cannon of various kinds. With the joy was mingled admiration for the energy displayed. He had travelled more than four hundred miles over frozen streams and through a wilderness obstructed by the snows of winter. The dull monotony of inaction gave way to bustle and excitement. All was now ready for active operations. The heights that commanded the town must be seized and fortified. Putnam had already fortified Lechmere Point, on the north; there he had mounted his famous "Congress;" that point had only to be supplied with more large cannon and with powder. Now the main object was to secure Dorchester Heights, which commanded the town on the south, and also the harbor. This would compel the enemy to leave the town or bring on a general engagement: plans were laid accordingly.

To divert the attention of the enemy while preparations were in progress, Boston was to be bombarded and cannonaded from different points. Should the Americans attain the heights, and the enemy attempt to dislodge them, Putnam, with four thousand

picked men, was prepared to cross Charles river and attack the north part of the town.

Washington, deeply impressed with the importance of the coming struggle, issued orders forbidding "all playing at cards or other games of chance," adding, "In this time of public distress, men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality." He also warned the troops, "If any man in action shall presume to skulk, hide himself, or retreat from the enemy without orders, he will be instantly shot down as an example of cowardice."

The fourth of March was fixed upon for the enterprise. On the evening of that day, the detachment under General Thomas, designed to occupy the heights, moved as quietly as possible. In the advance were eight hundred men; then came the carts with intrenching tools; then twelve hundred more men, and in the rear were three hundred wagons laden with bales of hay and bundle of fagots to be used in making the breastwork. They reached the heights about eight o'clock; amid the roar of artillery—for the enemy were returning the fire directed against them with great spirit—the noise of the wagons and the necessary bustle of the movement had been unheard. Though the earth was frozen eighteen inches deep they threw up an embankment and used their hay and other material to great advantage. During that night of labor the commander-in-chief was drawn by his interest to the spot. In the morning the fortification appeared very formidable. General Howe, as he examined it through the mist, exclaimed: "The rebels have done more work in one night than my whole army would have done in a month." The patriots, at this crisis, watched the movements of the enemy with intense interest. A cannonade was opened upon the heights, but without much effect.

Howe did not attempt to storm the works. A night attack was resolved upon, but a furious storm arose, the ships of war could render no service, nor could the boats land in the heavy surf. Before the storm was over the Americans were too strong to be assaulted. A council of war advised Howe to evacuate the town, as both it and the shipping were exposed to a destructive bombardment. To insure the safety of his army during the embarkation, Howe appealed to the fears of the inhabitants; he intimated he would burn the town if his troops were fired upon. A deputation of citizens made this known, in an informal manner to Washington, and the British were suffered to depart unmolested.

Eleven days were employed in the embarkation. About fifteen hundred loyalists made ready to leave with the departing army; thus was the good city of Boston purged of its Tory population. Authorized by Howe, the British demanded of the inhabitants all the linen and woollen goods; salt, molasses, and other necessaries were destroyed. Clean Brush, a New York Tory, who was commissioned to take charge of the goods that were seized, took advantage of his authority and broke open and pillaged stores and private houses, as did some of the soldiers. The embarkation was hastened at the last, by a false alarm that the Americans were about to assault the town.

On the next Monday, March eighteenth, Washington entered the city. He was received with joy by the remaining inhabitants. After a siege of ten months Boston was again free; above it waved the Union flag of thirteen stripes. The British fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty vessels, lay for some days in Nantasket roads, and then bore away. Washington feared its destination was New York. As soon as possible he hastened thither with the main body of the army. Five regiments remained at

Boston with General Ward. Soon afterward the latter resigned, but served the cause in the Massachusetts council and in Congress.

The land rejoiced greatly at this success. On motion of John Adams, Congress gave Washington a unanimous vote of thanks, and ordered a gold medal to be struck in commemoration of the event.

The expenses of the war were so great that just before this Congress had been obliged to issue four additional millions of continental paper. A financial committee had been appointed, and now an auditor-general and assistants were to act under this committee; this assumed the form of a Treasury Department. Two months later Congress established a War Office, and appointed a committee of five members to superintend its operation. To act as chairman of this committee, John Adams resigned the office of chief justice of Massachusetts.

Washington reached New York on the thirteenth of April; there he found much to be done. The Heights of Long Island, Kingsbridge, the main avenue from the city by land, were at best but imperfectly guarded, and many prominent points on the river and Sound were entirely undefended.

Governor Tryon and the British ships in the harbor were in constant communication with the Tories in the city. To guard against these dangers, external and internal, Washington had but eight thousand effective men. General Greene was sent with one division to fortify what is now Brooklyn Heights, on Long Island, as they commanded New York. He was also to make himself familiar with the surrounding country. Urged by the commander-in-chief, the committee of safety was induced to prohibit all intercourse with Governor Tryon. Any such intercourse, if discovered, was to be severely punished. But Tryon, aided by spies and agents, continued his



efforts in the king's cause. A conspiracy, to which he had instigated the Tories, was fortunately discovered. Some of these may have been true loyalists, but there were others basely won by the promise of reward. In low taverns and drinking saloons the patriot soldiers were tampered with. The mayor of the city was arrested, as well as some of Washington's bodyguard, charged with being concerned in the plot. One of the guard, Thomas Hickey, a deserter from the British army, was hanged, "for mutiny, sedition, and treachery." This example alarmed the Tories, and we hear of no more plots.

For the first time Washington learned of the measures of the British Parliament. The hired Hessians and German troops were landing in Canada. New apprehensions were awakened for the army in that province. Great efforts were made to reinforce it; regiments were sent under Sullivan and Thompson. Early in the spring General Wooster had joined Arnold and taken command at Quebec. But it was not easy for Arnold to act in contact with a superior officer; as usual, he had difficulty with Wooster and retired to Montreal. Soon after Wooster was recalled, and Thomas, now a major-general, was appointed to the northern army. General Carleton was strongly reinforced, and Thomas was compelled to make a hasty retreat from before Quebec—so hasty that the baggage, the artillery, and even the sick were left behind. The noble humanity of Carleton deserves to be recorded. He sought out the sick, many of whom had hid from him in terror, conveyed them to the general hospitals, and promised that on their recovery they should be permitted to return home. Thomas hastened to the Sorel where, on the second of June, he died of the smallpox, which prevailed greatly in the army. Though the army once more changes its commander, there was no change

in its prospects ; they continued to be of the gloomiest character. Carleton came pressing on with a force of thirteen thousand men. General Thompson, with a portion of the American troops, was defeated at Three Rivers ; and he, with his officers and many of his men, were taken prisoners. Those who escaped joined Sullivan on the Sorel.

Arnold had been equally unfortunate at Montreal. He stationed a detachment of four hundred men at a point called The Cedars, about forty miles above that place, in order to intercept the stores sent to the enemy. As this post was threatened with an attack, it was shamefully surrendered by Colonel Butterworth without a blow. A reinforcement sent to their aid was also taken prisoners. Arnold now joined Sullivan. A council of war decided upon a retreat, and the wreck of the army passed out of Canada, followed by a strong British force.

The army was in a deplorable condition when it reached Crown Point. To use the words of John Adams, it was "defeated, discontented, dispirited, diseased, no clothes, beds, blankets, nor medicines ; no victuals but salt pork and flour." Thus ended this invasion, famous for its daring exploits and numerous disasters.

Congress approved of Sullivan's prudent retreat ; they did not, however, confirm him in the authority that had devolved upon him on the death of General Thomas. They appointed Major-general Gates to the command, and awarded Sullivan a vote of thanks—an honor as unsatisfactory to him as it was empty in itself. Sullivan was deeply wounded, as was General Schuyler, for Gates claimed the command, not only of the forces on Lake Champlain, but of the whole northern army.

Horatio Gates, like Lee, was of foreign birth ; like him, he was a disappointed man. Of his very early

life little is known. He served in America under Braddock, in the West Indies under Monckton; but as he did not receive from his native England the honors which he thought his due, he sold his commission in the British army and retired to Virginia, where he renewed his acquaintance with Washington, and with his former associate, General Lee. Gates was ambitious, and the revolution opened a path to distinction. As an office-seeker he had, it is said, learned to "flatter and accommodate himself to the humors of others." He could be "the boon companion of gentlemen, and 'hail fellow well met' with the vulgar." He ingratiated himself with the New Englanders, with whom, for some reason, Schuyler was unpopular. Through their influence, it is thought, Gates obtained what he aimed at—promotion. The enemies of Schuyler advanced serious charges against him; attributed to him the failure of the Canada expedition, and even hinted at treason. There is an instinct common to noble minds by which they discern truth in others. Washington never doubted the integrity of Schuyler, nor did Congress sustain Gates in his claim to supersede him. The appointment of the latter, they said, referred only to the forces while in Canada; elsewhere he was subordinate to Schuyler. The difficulty was passed over, as the result of a mistake, and the rival commanders assumed the appearance of satisfaction.

We now return to Charleston, where we left both parties preparing for a contest. On the fate of Sullivan's Island, the key to the harbor, the result seemed to depend. One party was making ready to attack, the other to defend it. On the southwest point of this island was a fort commanded by Colonel William Moultrie. Fort Moultrie was constructed of logs of palmetto, a wood soft and spongy; cannon balls could not splinter it. Lee, not familiar with

the palmetto, thought it madness to attempt to defend so fragile a fort; he contemptuously styled it the "Slaughter-pen." This important post was threatened by sea and land. Before it lay the British fleet under Sir Peter Parker. Sir Henry Clinton, with two thousand men, had taken possession of Long Island, which lay to the east of Sullivan's Island, and was separated from it only by a narrow creek. Here he was erecting batteries to cover his passage across the creek, to assault the fort when the fire of the ships should make a breach. To oppose him the Americans stationed a force under Colonel Thompson on the opposite side of the creek. Lee took his position on a point of the mainland north of the island, where he stood ready at any moment to aid either Thompson or Moultrie.

The strength of the fort was now to be tested. On the twenty-eighth of June the formidable fleet of Parker advanced and commenced a "most furious fire," which was returned with great spirit. The firing had but little effect upon the low wooden fort, while the ships of the enemy were almost torn in pieces. In the midst of the terrific roar of artillery the Americans stood bravely to their guns; some of them remained at their posts even after they had lost a limb. For ten hours the battle raged without intermission. Then Sir Peter drew off his ships.

Sir Henry Clinton made repeated attempts to reach Sullivan's Island, but was as often foiled by the batteries of Thompson. Several of the ships ran aground; one, the *Acteon*, was set on fire with her guns loaded and colors flying, and then abandoned. The Americans, determined to secure a trophy, boarded the burning vessel, fired her guns at the retreating enemy, took possession of her colors, loaded three boats with stores, and departed in safety, before she blew up. Among the many heroic incidents



connected with this battle, one is related of Sergeant Jasper. The flag-staff was cut by a ball, and the flag fell outside the fort. Jasper immediately leaped down and, amid the "iron hail," picked up the flag, tied it to a pole, deliberately placed it on the parapet, and then returned to his companions at the guns. Governor Rutledge appreciated the heroic deed; a few days after he presented his own sword to Jasper and offered him a lieutenant's commission. He accepted the sword, but modestly declined promotion on the ground that he could neither read nor write.

On the very day that this battle took place at the South, a British fleet of forty vessels entered the harbor of New York. On board was General Howe, and with him the late garrison of Boston. Since the evacuation of that place he had been at Halifax awaiting the arrival of his brother, Admiral Howe. He landed his forces on Staten Island, where he was received with demonstrations of joy by the Tories. Clouds of deeper darkness were gathering around New York. The Admiral with more forces might be expected at any moment; the crisis so long dreaded was at hand. The American soldiers were ordered to be each day at their alarm posts, and to be in readiness for instant action. Orders to the same effect were sent up the river. Rumors of dissatisfaction in that quarter added the fear of treachery to the general alarm. Such was the state of things—the northern army defeated and broken, the fleet of Sir Henry Clinton on its way from the South, Admiral Howe on his way from England, the harbor of New York filled with the enemy's ships,—when an event took place, most important in American history. The colonists declared themselves independent of all foreign authority, and took their place among the nations of the earth.

## CHAPTER XXX.

1776

### WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

The Question of Independence; Influences in Favor of—The Tories—"Common Sense"—The Declaration; Its Reception by the People and Army—Arrival of Admiral Howe—His Overtures for Reconciliation—The American Army; Its Composition—Sectional Jealousies—The Forts on the Hudson—The Clintons—Battle of Long Island—The Masterly Retreat—Incidents—Camp on Harlem Heights—Howe Confers with a Committee of Congress—Nathan Hale—The British at Kipp's Bay—New York Evacuated—Conflict at White Plains—The Retreat Across New Jersey—Waywardness of Lee.

The alienation between the colonies and the mother country began at the close of the French war. It was not the result of any one cause, but of many; the change of feeling was not instantaneous, but gradual. As the struggle took a more decided form, many, who were determined in their resistance to oppression, were unwilling to cast off their allegiance to the land to which their fathers still gave the endearing name of "home." There were, however, among the true Sons of Liberty a few who had seen the end from the beginning. Such men as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry foresaw the haughty obstinacy of the British ministry, and foretold the result. "Independent we are and independent we will be," said Adams; and Henry exclaimed, in the Virginia Assembly: "We must fight. An appeal to arms and the God of Hosts is all that is left us!"

What had long been felt by the few now flashed upon the minds of the many, that they could never enjoy their rights but as a self-governing nation. Would the oppressions of the home government just-

ify separation, which would involve all the horrors of a protracted and doubtful war? This question became the subject of discussion in the Provincial Assemblies and among the people themselves.

It was not arbitrary and unjust laws alone, nor the refusal of political rights, that had estranged the American people. Religious views had their influence in moulding public sentiment in favor of independence. Long-continued and persistent efforts to establish the Episcopal church in New England, had roused the latent hostility of the Congregationalists—they would not submit to English control in matters of religion. The Presbyterians of the middle and southern colonies, derived, as they were, from the dissenting Scottish church, had a traditionary feeling of opposition to the same influence. Both pastors and people were stanch Whigs and went hand in hand with the ministers and people of New England. Even in Virginia, where the Episcopal church was established by law, and where the majority of the people were its advocates, the attempt to place over them a bishop was denounced by the House of Burgesses as a “pernicious project.” Though strenuous churchmen, they were jealous of external influences, and repudiated the control of the mother church. On the contrary, the Episcopal clergy, great numbers of whom were Englishmen by birth, from their associations were inclined to favor the royal authority. Nor should we judge them harshly; they acted in accordance with their views of the intimate connection of church and state. These views influenced the members of that church more in the northern than in the southern colonies, and great numbers of them faithfully adhered to the “Lord’s anointed,” as they termed the king.

The peace-loving Quakers, numerous in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware opposed war as

wrong in itself. The Moravians held similar views. These grieved over the violation of their rights, yet they hoped by pacific measures to obtain justice.

There were others who, though not opposed to war, believed it to be wrong to rise in opposition to the rule of the mother country. There were also the timid, who deemed it madness to resist a power so colossal. There were the low and grovelling, who sought only an opportunity to plunder; the time-serving and the avaricious, who, for the gain they might acquire as contractors for the British army, or by furnishing provisions for prisoners, joined the enemies of their country.

The evacuation of Boston strengthened the already strong feeling in favor of independence so prevalent in New England. In the south the recent risings of the Tories in North Carolina, the ravages of Dunmore in Virginia, and the attack upon Charleston, served still more to alienate the affections of the people; while their success in repelling the invasion gave them assurance. For many reasons they wished to be independent. Then they could form treaties with other nations, and the brand of rebel, so repugnant to an honorable mind, would be removed. In truth, Congress had already taken the ground of an independent government by offering free trade to other nations, in all merchandise except that of British manufacture and slaves—the latter traffic they had prohibited some months before.

About the first of the year a pamphlet was issued in Philadelphia under the title of "Common Sense," which had a great influence upon the public mind. Its author, Thomas Paine, an Englishman, had been in the country but a few months. In a style adapted to convince the popular mind he exposed the folly of delaying any longer a formal separation from the



mother country. The pamphlet had a very great circulation, and a proportionate influence in deciding the timid and wavering in favor of independence.

On the seventh of June Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution into Congress, declaring, "That the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved." Upon this resolution sprang up an animated discussion. It was opposed, principally, on the ground that it was premature. Some of the best and strongest advocates of colonial rights spoke and voted against the motion, which was passed only by a bare majority of seven States to six. Some of the delegates had not received instructions from their constituents on the subject, and others were instructed to vote against it. Its consideration was prudently deferred until there was a prospect of greater unanimity. Accordingly, on the eleventh, a committee, consisting of Doctor Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York, was appointed to prepare a Declaration. To give opportunity for union of opinion, the consideration of the subject was postponed to the first of July. At the same time two other committees were appointed; one to draw up a plan for uniting all the colonies, the other to devise measures to form alliances.

On the twenty-eighth the committee reported the declaration to the house. It was drawn by Jefferson, and contained a gracefully written summary of the sentiments of the people and Congress. After a few verbal alterations suggested by Adams and Franklin, it was approved by the committee. The house, however, struck out a few passages. One of these reflected severely upon the British government; another denounced the slave-trade; another censured

the king for his attempts to prevent, by the refusal of his signature, the enactment of laws designed to prohibit that traffic. They were unwilling to offend the friends of the colonies in Britain, and feared lest these strong expressions might prevent the declaration from receiving a unanimous vote. The vote was taken by states; the delegates were not unanimous, but there were a sufficient number to give the vote of all the colonies, New York alone excepted, which was given in a few days. The announcement was delayed till the declaration should receive a few amendments, and then, on July the fourth, it was formally adopted, and the thirteen colonies became The Thirteen United States of America.

The bell of the State House, in which Congress held its sessions, has upon it the inscription: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"—words taken from the Bible. Congress sat with closed doors, but it was known far and wide that the subject of independence was under discussion. Crowds assembled outside the Hall, and waited anxiously to learn the result. At mid-day the appointed signal was given. The bell was struck, and to its tones responded the joyous shouts of multitudes. The friends of liberty and independence breathed more freely; the declaration was made; the hesitancy of indecision was over, and the spirit of determination arose. It was published; it was read to the army; the soldiers received it with shouts of exultation and pledges to defend its principles; it was announced in the papers; from the pulpits, and everywhere the Whigs hailed it with joy. Hopes of reconciliation, which had so much paralyzed measures of defense were at an end; there was now no neutral ground. The timid though honest friends of their country, who had so long hesitated, generally sided with liberty. The Tories were in a

sad condition; the great majority of them were wealthy, and had hoped that the difficulties would yet be arranged. Laws passed by the new State authorities had rendered them liable to fines and imprisonments, and their property to confiscation. They endured many outrages, and were subjected to "tar-rings and featherings" innumerable by self-constituted vigilance committees. Congress, to prevent these outrages, gave the supervision of Tories to committees of inspection. The most obnoxious were fain to emigrate, and the committees admonished or restrained the others within certain limits.

The soldiers in New York manifested their zeal by taking a leaden statue of King George, which stood in the Bowling Green, and running it into bullets, to be used in the cause of independence. To impress upon their minds a sense of the dignity of their position, as well as to reprove this irregularity, Washington, in the orders, the following day, referred to the subject. "The general hopes and trusts," said he, "that every officer and soldier will endeavor so to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

A few days after the public Declaration of Independence, the booming of cannon from the British vessels in the harbor of New York announced the arrival of Admiral Howe. To his brother and himself had been committed the general control of American affairs.

Before he proceeded to hostilities, the admiral addressed a circular to the people; he offered them pardon if they would cease to be rebels, lay down their arms, and trust the king's mercy. As soon as this circular reached Congress that body caused it to be published in all the newspapers that the people might see that Britain would grant nothing and ac-

cept no concession short of absolute submission. "They must fight or be slaves."

Howe also attempted to open a correspondence with Washington. As Parliament refused to acknowledge titles conferred by Congress, his letters were addressed first to Mr. George Washington, then to George Washington, Esquire, &c., &c., hoping that the &c.'s would remove the difficulty, but the Commander-in-chief, justly tenacious of the dignity of his office, and of the honor of his country, politely but firmly refused to receive them. The messenger expressed his regret that the correspondence could not be opened.. His lordship, he said, wished for peace; he was vested with great powers. Washington replied that he understood Lord Howe had power to grant pardons; the Americans had defended their rights; they had committed no crime and needed no pardon.

The Admiral was disappointed; he really desired peace. The reception he had met with had encouraged his hopes; he had received loyal addresses from the Tories of New Jersey, Long and Staten Islands; Governor Tryon had assured him there were many others, secret friends of England, who might be induced to join him. But, to his surprise, his circular, from which he had hoped much, produced little or no effect. He was now convinced that nothing could be accomplished except by force of arms. Meanwhile his army, now on Staten Island, received many accessions; Sir Henry Clinton had arrived, and more Hessian troops had landed. His whole force was about thirty-five thousand.

As it had become more and more evident that New York was to be the theatre of the war, further preparations had been made to defend the city and neighborhood. Pennsylvania had sent four continental regiments, commanded respectively by Colonels St.



Clair, Shee, Anthony Wayne and Magaw; three provincial battalions, under Colonels Miles, Cadwalader, and Atlee, and rifle regiments under Colonels Hand and Allen. These were all commanded by Brigadier-general Mifflin, of that State,

Virginia also sent troops under Major Leitch, and from Maryland came the brave company known as Smallwood's regiment, who afterward distinguished themselves in many conflicts, while from Delaware came a regiment under Colonel Hazlet. In addition to these, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware furnished troops to form what was called "a flying camp," a sort of reserve, stationed in New Jersey, in a favorable position, and ready to act in emergencies. This was under Brigadier-general Mercer.

In the troops thus drawn together from different parts of the country there were marked differences in appearance and discipline. The New England officers were most of them farmers and mechanics—brave, honorable, but plain men. Their soldiers were men of the same stamp; in many cases their intimates and associates in private life. Their intercourse with each other was less formal than was consistent with strict military discipline. They met not as mere soldiers, but as a band of brethren, united in a cause in which each had a personal interest. With the portion of the army drawn from the other States, the case was different; with them there was a marked distinction between the officers and soldiers. The officers were brave and honorable also, but city bred—"gentlemen," as they called themselves—and from wealthy families, while the "common soldiers, for the most part, were a very inferior set." Sectional jealousies arose. The Marylanders, in "scarlet and buff," looked down upon the rustic soldiery in "homespun," while the officers of the other provinces were inclined to despise their asso-

ciates from New England. These jealousies became so great an evil that Washington reprobated them in general orders.

As the British were masters of the bay of New York, it was feared they would surround the American army in the city and take possession of the Hudson, that great highway to the interior. To prevent this, General Mifflin was sent with the Pennsylvania troops to guard the forts at the north end of the island. One of these stood just below, the other just above Kingsbridge, the only avenue to the mainland; they were known as Forts Washington and Independence. On the west side of the Hudson, nearly opposite Fort Washington, stood Fort Lee. Near the entrance to the Highlands, and just opposite the well-known promontory of Anthony's Nose, was Fort Montgomery. Six miles higher up the river was Fort Constitution.

The posts last named were under the command of Colonel James Clinton. His brother George commanded the militia of Ulster and Orange counties. These brothers were of Irish descent, natives of New York, and their ancestors were identified with the early settlements on the Hudson. They had been soldiers from their youth—like many of the Revolutionary officers—they had been trained in the French war, in which one of them had served as a captain at twenty, and the other as a lieutenant at seventeen years of age. The elder, James, had also served under Montgomery at the capture of Montreal, while George had been active in the service of his country as a member of the New York Legislature, and as a delegate to the Continental Congress.

In spite of obstructions thrown across the channel, two British vessels, the Phoenix and the Rose, passed up the Hudson. The latter was commanded by the notorious Captain Wallace, who had pillaged

the shores of Rhode Island. They passed the forts unharmed, and gallantly returned the fire from Fort Washington. As they boldly pushed their way up the river, their appearance created great alarm. Signal guns were heard from the forts, and false rumors increased the general excitement. The sturdy yeomanry left their harvests uncut in their fields and hastened to join the forces under Clinton to defend the passes of the Highlands. These fears were in a great measure groundless. The vessels quietly anchored here and there, while their boats took soundings; but the event proved the inefficiency of the defenses at the mouth of the Hudson.

The Americans, from the Jersey shore and the city continued to watch, with intense interest, the movements of the enemy on Staten Island. A spy reported that they were about to land on Long Island, with twenty thousand men, and take possession of the Heights, which commanded New York; he had heard the orders read, and the conversation of the officers in the camp. The next day the roar of artillery was heard from Long Island, and soon the news reached the city that the enemy had landed at Gravesend Bay.

General Greene had thrown up a line of intrenchments and redoubts across the neck of the peninsula upon which stood the village of Brooklyn. He had made himself acquainted with the ground in the neighborhood, and nearly completed his plans for defense, when he was suddenly taken ill with a raging fever. He was still unable to be at his post, and Sullivan held the temporary command.

Between the American intrenchments and Gravesend Bay lay a range of thickly-wooded hills that stretched across the island from south-west to north-east. Over and around these hills were three roads: one along the shore passed around their southwest-

ern base; another crossed over their centre toward Flatbush; while a third, which was near the northeast extremity of the range, passed over them from the village of Bedford to Jamaica.

Nine thousand of the British had already landed at Gravesend, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and his associates, the Earls of Cornwallis and Percy, and Generals Grant and Erskine. Colonel Hand, who was stationed there, retired on their approach to a position that commanded the central or Flatbush road. The British continued to land more forces secretly in the night time, but for several days nothing occurred, except skirmishing between the enemy and the troops at the outposts, along the wooded hills.

At the first alarm the Commander-in-chief had hastened to send to the aid of Sullivan a reinforcement of six battalions,—all he could well spare. He exhorted these soldiers to be cool, and not to fire too soon. They appeared in high spirits, though most of them were going into battle for the first time.

On the twenty-fourth, Washington, somewhat relieved from his apprehensions with regard to the city, crossed over to Brooklyn to inspect the lines. He was pained to observe a great want of system among the officers, and of discipline among the soldiers. A strong redoubt had been thrown up at the central pass, but the plans for defense were imperfect and affairs in much confusion.

On his return he appointed General Putnam to the command, with orders to remedy these evils. The "brave old man" hastened with joy to the post of danger.

From day to day the number of tents on Staten Island became gradually less, and one by one ships dropped silently down to the narrows. Washington became convinced that the British designed to attack



the lines at Brooklyn. He sent over further reinforcements, among which was Haslet's Delaware regiment—troops whose soldierly bearing and discipline had won his special regard.

He proceeded in person to aid Putnam with his counsel. On the evening of the twenty-sixth he returned to New York, perplexed and depressed, for a dark cloud of uncertainty and danger hung over the future.

His fears were soon realized. On that very evening the British proceeded to carry out their plan of attack. By this plan, Sir Henry Clinton was to march along by-paths across to the eastern or Jamaica road, to seize the pass in the Bedford hills, thence proceed onward, and turn the left flank of the Americans; General Grant was to pass along the shore-road and attack them on the right, while General De Heister, with his Hessians, was to threaten the central pass, where Colonel Hand was stationed with his riflemen.

At nine o'clock Sir Henry, guided by a Long Island Tory, commenced his march toward the eastern road; about midnight, Colonel Grant's division moved in an opposite direction, along the western or shore-road. Colonel Atlee, who was stationed there with a small company of militia, was driven back from point to point. News of Grant's approach soon reached General Putnam. Lord Stirling, with Smallwood's and Haslet's regiments, was sent to the relief of Colonel Atlee. About daylight they came up with him, and soon the front of the approaching enemy appeared in view.

Presently the redoubt at the central pass was cannonaded from Flatbush. This firing attracted the attention of Sullivan, who went to the relief of Colonel Hand.

Thus the object of the British was in part ac-

completed. The attention of the Americans was diverted, their troops were scattered beyond the lines; silently and rapidly the forces of Clinton were moving on to cut off their return. He had found the eastern pass unguarded, and continued his march undiscovered, and now signal guns announced that he was close upon the American lines. The Hessians advanced at once upon the redoubt. Colonel Grant pushed on. Sullivan and Stirling both perceived their danger and endeavored to retreat, but in vain. The enemy had gained their rear; they were completely entrapped and hemmed in. It is true, a portion of Stirling's troops escaped by fording a creek; the remainder, most of whom were of Smallwood's regiment, took a brave but desperate stand. A scene of carnage ensued; more than two hundred and fifty of them were slain within sight of the lines. Some of these were most cruelly and wantonly bayoneted by the merciless Hessians. At length Stirling sought De Heister and surrendered. Sullivan's forces were driven back and forth by the two divisions of the enemy, and treated in a like barbarous manner; some were taken prisoners, among whom was Sullivan himself; others fought their way back to the lines. Some portion of this conflict took place amid the hills now embraced in the beautiful cemetery of Greenwood.

Washington reached the spot just in time to witness the catastrophe. As from the lines he saw his brave troops surrounded and cruelly slaughtered—touched to the heart with deep and humane sorrow, he wrung his hands and exclaimed: "Good God! what brave fellows I must lose this day!"

The loss of the Americans in this battle was very severe; of the five thousand engaged, nearly two thousand were slain or taken prisoners, while out of sixteen thousand the British lost but about four

hundred. They made no assault on the American lines, but encamped directly in front of them, and prepared to carry them by regular approaches.

Although reinforced the next day by Mifflin's and Glover's regiments, the Americans had still a very inferior force. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, as General Mifflin, with Adjutant-general Reed and Colonel Grayson, was inspecting the outposts at Red Hook, a light breeze, that dispersed the fog for a moment, revealed to them the enemy's fleet. They were justly alarmed; the unusual stir among the boats convinced them that some great movement was on foot. It was probable the enemy intended to pass up the bay and surround them. They hastened to Washington, who summoned a council of war, and it was decided that the army should that night be secretly withdrawn from the Island. It was a hazardous enterprise, and much was to be done; boats were to be collected and preparations for the removal of nine thousand men were to be made, in the face of the enemy, rapidly, and yet so silently and cautiously, as not to awaken the slightest suspicion. It was already noon, but the orders were issued, and all the boats around Manhattan Island were impressed and in readiness at eight o'clock that evening. And at the silent midnight hour the regiments, one by one, began to march to the ferry, and in boats manned by Glover's regiment, most of whom were Marblehead fishermen, they were borne to the city. By eight o'clock the entire army, with their military stores, cattle, horses, and carts, were safely landed.

Several incidents occurred, which have a peculiar interest as connected with this famous retreat. General Mifflin, who was stationed nearest to the enemy's lines, was to remain at his post until the others had embarked. Colonel Scammell, who was sent to

hasten forward a particular regiment, mistook his orders and sent on Mifflin with his whole covering party; and great was the consternation of the Commander-in-chief when they joined the others at the ferry. "This is a dreadful mistake, General Mifflin," said he, "and unless the troops can regain the lines before their absence is discovered by the enemy, the most disastrous consequences are to be apprehended." They returned to their post with all expedition. "This was a trying business to young soldiers," says one of their number, "it was, nevertheless, strictly complied with, and we remained not less than an hour in the lines before we received the second order to abandon them."<sup>1</sup>

A story is told of a woman, wife of a suspected Tory, who lived near the ferry. She sent her negro servant to the British with news that the Americans were retreating. He reached the Hessian outposts in safety, but they did not understand his language, and detained him a close prisoner till morning. Then an English officer, who examined him, learned the truth, but it was too late. The British did not reach the ferry till the last boat was beyond musket shot. It was an August morning; but for a dense fog the boats which left after daylight must have been discovered. The safe retreat of the patriot army was by many attributed to a peculiar Providence. It was a trust in this Providence, a calm assurance of ultimate success under its guiding care, that strengthened the hearts of the patriots in their darkest hour of trial.

A few days after this retreat, Admiral Howe, who hoped the Americans would now accept peace on his terms, sent General Sullivan on parole with a letter to Congress. He invited them to send, in an informal manner, a committee to confer with him on some

<sup>1</sup>Graydon's Memoirs.



measures of reconciliation. He would receive them as private gentlemen, as the ministry would not acknowledge the legal existence of Congress. Accordingly John Adams, Doctor Franklin, and Edward Rutledge, held a conference with him at a house on Staten Island, opposite Amboy.

Doctor Franklin and Lord Howe had often conversed together in England on the present difficulties. His lordship made known the terms on which peace could be obtained. These terms were unconditional submission. When told that the Congress and people would treat on no other basis than that "of a free and independent nation," he expressed regret that he should be compelled to distress the Americans. Doctor Franklin reciprocated his good will, but quietly remarked, "The Americans will endeavor to lessen the pain you may feel, by taking good care of themselves." Thus ended the much talked-of interview. The result was good. The people were strengthened in the belief that England had no terms to offer, which would lead them to regret the course they had adopted.

The British, now in possession of Long Island, extended their lines along the East River, and stationed in them a large number of Hessian Troops, of whom reinforcements had come within a few days. The defeat at Brooklyn had a very disheartening effect on the minds of the militia, great numbers of whom deserted, and soon Washington's army was less than twenty thousand men, and on many of these little dependence could be placed. The question soon arose, Should New York be defended to the last, or should it be evacuated? Some proposed to burn it to the ground, as "two-thirds of the property belonged to Tories," rather than it should furnish comfortable winter-quarters for the enemy. Congress decided that the city should not be burned.

The sick and wounded, in the meanwhile, were transferred to Orange, in New Jersey, and most of the military stores were removed to Dobb's Ferry, that the garrison might be unencumbered should they be obliged to make a hasty retreat. It was decided by a council of war that Putnam, with five thousand troops, should remain to garrison New York, while General Heath, with the main body, was to fortify the heights in the neighborhood of Kingsbridge, where, presently Washington transferred his headquarters.

Washington was anxious to learn the designs of the enemy on Long Island. At the suggestion of Colonel Knowlton, Nathan Hale volunteered to go on the perilous errand. Hale was a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College, had thoughts of studying for the ministry, and at the commencement of the war was a teacher of youth. After the battle of Lexington he hastened to Boston to join the army, in which he served as a lieutenant. On one occasion, to induce his men to continue their term of enlistment, he offered them his own pay. Soon after he received from Congress the commission of captain.

He passed to the island, obtained the knowledge desired, notes of which he took in Latin. As he was returning he fell in with a party of the enemy, was recognized by a Tory relative, seized and taken to Howe's headquarters, and, without much ceremony, was ordered to be executed the next morning.

The provost-marshal, named Cunningham, treated him with great brutality, denied him a Bible, tore up the letter he had written to his mother, giving as a reason, "that the rebels should never know they had a man who could die with such firmness." The last words of Hale were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

The entire British fleet was within cannon-shot of the city, and some of their vessels had passed up the Hudson and East rivers. They had landed troops on the islands at the mouth of Harlem river, and there erected a battery. Soon British and Hessians, under Clinton and Colonel Donop, crossed over from the camp on Long Island to Kipp's Bay, three miles above the city. Washington heard the cannonading in that quarter, and, as he was on the way to learn the cause, met the militia, who, on the first approach of the enemy had fled in sad confusion, followed by two brigades of Connecticut troops, who that very morning had been sent to support them. He strove to rally them, but in vain; neither entreaties nor commands had any effect upon these panic-stricken soldiers. Mortified and indignant at their cowardice, he dashed his hat upon the ground, and exclaimed: "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" The enemy in pursuit were now not more than eighty yards from him, but in his excitement he forgot his own safety, and had not an attendant seized the bridle of his horse and hurried him from the field, he must have fallen into their hands.

Washington ordered General Heath to secure Harlem Heights, and sent an express order to Putnam to evacuate the city and retire to those heights with all speed; for he feared that the enemy would extend their lines across the island from Kipp's Bay, and cut off his retreat. Fortunately the British did not pursue their advantage. Putnam retreated along the west side of the island by the Bloomingdale road. His line, encumbered with women and children, was exposed to the fire of the ships lying in the Hudson. He ordered, encouraged and aided, and by his extraordinary exertions, it is said, saved his corps from entire destruction. However, his heavy artillery and three hundred men fell into the hands of the enemy.

Now the British had possession of the city, and the main body of the Americans was encamped on the northern portion of the island, across which they threw a double row of lines, about four and a half miles below Kingsbridge. Two miles above these lines was Fort Washington, and a few miles below them were the British lines, extending also from river to river.

On the sixteenth the enemy made an attack upon the American advanced posts, but were repulsed and driven off by Virginia and Connecticut troops, but their commanders, Major Leitch, and the brave Colonel Knowlton, one of the heroes of Bunker Hill, both fell in this encounter. The spirits of the soldiers, depressed by repeated defeats and disasters, were somewhat revived by this successful skirmish.

The armies watched each other for some weeks. Many were sick in the American camp; "it was impossible to find proper hospitals; and they lay about in almost every barn, stable, shed, and even under the fences and bushes."

Sir William Howe now began to collect forces at Throg's Neck, a peninsula in the Sound about nine miles from the American camp. This peninsula was separated from the mainland by a narrow creek and a marsh, which was overflowed at high tide. By means of the bridge and fords, Howe hoped to pass over to the mainland and gain the rear of the Americans, and cut off their communication with New England, whence they received most of their supplies. His plans, though well laid, were defeated. General Heath was on the alert; he was joined by Colonel William Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, and by Hand with his riflemen, and others; every pass was guarded, and the planks of the bridge removed. Howe, with his usual caution, waited six days for reinforcements. By this time General Lee,



now more a favorite than ever, had returned from his successful campaign at the South, and Sullivan, Stirling, and Morgan had been restored to the army by exchange. While Howe thus delayed, it was decided, in a council of war, that every American post on New York Island, excepting Fort Washington, should be abandoned. This plan was promptly executed. The army, in four divisions, commanded by Generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln, withdrew across Kingsbridge, and gradually concentrated their forces in a fortified camp near the village of White Plains.

Still hoping to gain their rear, Howe moved on toward New Rochelle, where he was reinforced by light-horse troops, and Hessians under General Knyphausen, who had recently arrived from Europe. He advanced upon the camp. Scarcely had the Americans intrenched themselves at White Plains when a rumor of his approach reached them. On the twenty-eighth, as Washington, accompanied by his general officers, was reconnoitring the heights in the neighborhood, the alarm was given that the enemy had driven in the picket-guards, and were within the camp. When he reached headquarters he found the army already posted in order of battle. The enemy did not advance upon them; they turned their attention to a height known at Chatterton's Hill, which lay a little south of the camp, and was separated from it by the river Bronx. This height was occupied by sixteen hundred men under General McDougall, and the attack was made at this point. After a feeble resistance, the militia fled, but Hazlet's and Smallwood's regiments, so famous on Long Island, made a brave stand, and repeatedly repulsed the enemy; but, at length, overpowered by numbers, they retreated across the bridge to the camp. This battle

of White Plains was a spirited encounter, in which each of the parties lost about four hundred men.

The British took possession of the hill, and began to intrench themselves; and now, for the third time, the "armies lay looking at each other;" they were within long cannon-shot.

Could the undisciplined, war-worn, and disheartened Americans hope to escape from a force so well equipped and so powerful? That night was to them an anxious one. It was passed in severe labor; they doubled their intrenchments and threw up redoubts. Some of these were hastily constructed of stalks of corn, pulled up from a neighboring field, with the earth clinging to the roots. These piled with the roots outward, presented an appearance so formidable that Howe, deceived as to their strength, did not attack them, but ordered up reinforcements.

Howe's cautious conduct of the war has been severely criticized, and various reasons have been assigned, but it has never been satisfactorily explained; whatever his reasons may have been, his delay at this time cost him another golden opportunity. Washington withdrew his army in the night-time to the heights of North Castle, a strong position, about five miles distant. His enemy had again eluded him, and Howe retired with his forces to Dobbs' Ferry, on the Hudson.

This movement awakened new fears—did he intend to pass down the river to Fort Washington, or to cross into New Jersey? "He must attempt something," writes Washington, "on account of his reputation, for what has he done yet with his great army?"

To meet the threatened dangers a new disposition was made of the American forces. Lee, with a portion, was to remain at North Castle; Putnam, with another, was to guard the west side of the Hudson;

Heath, the guardian of the passes of the Highlands, was to encamp at Peekskill; while General Greene commanded at Fort Lee, and Colonel Magaw, with the Pennsylvania troops, occupied Fort Washington.

With respect to maintaining Fort Washington, there was a diversity of opinion, as neither that fort nor the obstructions across the channel had prevented the passage of vessels up the Hudson. Washington, with Lee, Reed and others, was in favor of withdrawing the troops at once. He addressed a letter to Greene, in which he advised this course, but left the matter to his discretion. Green and Magaw, who were both on the spot, and knew the condition of the fort, decided that it could be maintained, and made preparations accordingly. This was, as the result proved, an injudicious decision. The post was comparatively useless; it was accessible on three sides from the water; the fort was very small, and would not contain more than a thousand men, the lines were very extensive, and the garrison insufficient to man them.

Washington visited the posts along the river. When he arrived at Fort Lee, he was greatly disappointed to find that the troops had not been withdrawn from Fort Washington; and before he could make a personal examination the fort was invested. It was attacked on all sides. The garrison, after a brave resistance, which cost the enemy four hundred men, was driven from the outer lines, and crowded into the fort, where they were unable to fight to advantage, and were exposed to the shells of the enemy. Further resistance was impossible, and Colonel Magaw surrendered all his troops, two thousand in number. During this action the troops of Cadwalader especially distinguished themselves. Of the officers, Colonel Baxter, of Pennsylvania, fell while cheering on his men.

From the New Jersey shore the Commander-in-chief witnessed a portion of the battle, and again he saw some of his brave troops bayoneted by the merciless Hessians, and wept, it is said, "with the tenderness of a child."

It was resolved to abandon Fort Lee, but before it was fully accomplished, Cornwallis, with a force of six thousand strong, crossed the Hudson to the foot of the rocky cliffs known as the Palisades. The force sent down from North Castle was encamped at Hackensack, which lay between the river of that name and the Hudson, and Washington saw at once the object of the enemy was to form a line across the country, and hem them in between the rivers. To avoid this he retreated, with all his forces, including the garrison at Fort Lee, to secure the bridge over the Hackensack, thence across the Passaic to the neighborhood of Newark. This retreat was made in such haste that nearly all the artillery was abandoned, the tents left standing and the fires left burning. That night the enemy found shelter in the tents of the deserted camp.

From Newark the army moved on across the Raritan to Brunswick, thence to Princeton, where they left twelve hundred men, under Lord Stirling, to check the enemy, while the main body proceeded to Trenton, and thence beyond the Delaware. The enemy pressed so closely upon them that the advance of Cornwallis entered Newark at one end as their rear-guard passed out at the other, and often during this march, "the American rear-guard, employed in pulling up bridges, was within sight and shot of the British pioneers, sent forward to rebuild them."

Thus less than four thousand men—a mere shadow of an army—poorly clad, with a scant supply of blankets, without tents, and enfeebled for want of wholesome food, evaded, by an orderly retreat, a well ap-



pointed force that far outnumbered them, well fed, well clothed, well disciplined, and flushed with victory. When the enemy reached the Delaware, they were unable to cross over, not a boat was to be found; Washington had taken the precaution to have them all secured for a distance of seventy miles, and transferred to the west side. Thus ended this famous retreat, remarkable for the manner in which it was conducted, and the circumstances under which it took place.

Cornwallis was anxious to procure boats and push on to Philadelphia, but Howe decided to wait till the river should be frozen. Meanwhile, the Hessians were stationed along the eastern bank for some miles above and below Trenton.

During his harassed march, Washington had sent repeated and urgent orders to Lee to hasten to his aid with reinforcements. Notwithstanding the emergency, which he well knew, Lee lingered for two or three weeks on the east side of the Hudson, and when actually on the march, proceeded so slowly, that he did not reach Morristown until the eleventh of December.

Lee had a high opinion of his own military abilities, and evidently desired an independent command. The deference which the Americans had paid to his judgment and the importance they attached to his presence in the army, had flattered his natural self-conceit; his success at the South, and the correctness of his views in relation to Fort Washington, had strengthened his influence over them, and now, in this time of depression and discouragement, he hoped by some brilliant exploit to retrieve the fortunes of the army, and gain more glory to himself. In this mood he writes: "I am going into the Jerseys for the salvation of America." And again: "I am in hopes to reconquer, if I may so express myself, the Jerseys;

it was really in the hands of the enemy before my arrival." While he pondered over these vain projects, he disregarded the authority of the Commander-in-chief, and, to say the least, subjected him to cruel inconvenience. We have no reason to believe that Lee was untrue to the cause he had embraced, but his wayward conduct, at this time and afterward, has diminished the grateful respect with which Americans have cherished his memory,

## CHAPTER XXXI.

1776—1777

### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

Discouragements—Effects of Howe's Proclamation—Affairs on Lake Champlain—Heroism of Arnold—Carleton Retires to Canada—Capture of Lee—Troops from the Northern Army—Battle of Trenton—Battle of Princeton—Death of Mercer—Washington Retires to Morristown—Cornwallis in His Lines at Brunswick—Encouragements—Putnam at Princeton—Ill treatment of American Prisoners; Their Exchange Under Negotiation—Appointment of General Officers—Muhlenburg—Wayne—Conway—Medical Department—The Navy—Marauding Expeditions—Peekskill—Danbury—Death of Wooster—Retaliation at Sag Harbor—Efforts to Recruit the Army—Schuyler and Gates—The National Flag.

As the news of this retreat went abroad, the friends of the cause were discouraged. What remained of the army was fast wasting away; their enlistments were about to expire, and the militia, especially that of New Jersey, refused to take the field in behalf of a ruined enterprise. Many thought the States could not maintain their independence; but there were a few who, confident in the justice of their cause, were firm and undaunted. Among these was Washington. In a conversation with General Mercer he remarked: "That even if driven beyond the Alleghanies, he would stand to the last for the liberties of his country."

Howe felt certain the game was his own; he had only to bide his time. He sent forth another proclamation, in which he called upon all insurgents to disband, and Congress to lay down their usurped authority; and offered pardon to all who should accept the terms within sixty days. Many persons, most of

whom were wealthy, complied. Among these were two of the delegates from Pennsylvania to the late Continental Congress, and the president of the New Jersey Convention which had sanctioned the Declaration of Independence, and others who had taken an active part in favor of the Revolution. For ten days after the proclamation was issued, from two to three hundred came every day to take the required oath.

The movements of the enemy, and the effect produced by the proclamation, caused great excitement in Philadelphia. Putnam, who had been sent to command there, advised that, during this season of peril, Congress should hold its sessions elsewhere, and it adjourned to meet again at Baltimore.

At this time a reinforcement of seven regiments was on its way from Canada. We now return to the forces on Lake Champlain, where we left Schuyler and Gates in a sort of joint command.

The army driven out of Canada, broken, diseased, and dispirited, rested first at Crown Point and then at Ticonderoga. During his retreat, Sullivan wisely secured or destroyed all the boats on Lake Champlain. Its shores were an unbroken wilderness; thus the British were unable to follow up their pursuit by land or water.

Sir Guy Carleton, flushed with victory, and full of ardor, determined to overcome all obstacles and push his victory to the utmost. He would obtain the command of the Lakes Champlain and George, and by that means subdue northern New York, and then proceed to take possession of Albany, where he hoped to take up his winter quarters. From that point he hoped, by means of the Hudson, to co-operate with the Howes at New York, to cut off the communication between New England and the States west and south. This he believed would bring the contest to a speedy close, and secure to himself a share of the



honors of the victory. He exerted himself with so much energy and success that at the end of three months he had a well-equipped fleet. The frames of five large vessels that had been brought from England were put together at St. John's on the Sorel. These, with twenty smaller craft and some armed boats, which had been dragged up the rapids of that river, were now launched upon the lake.

The Americans were not idle. General Gates authorized Arnold, who was somewhat of a seaman, to fit out and command a flotilla. Arnold threw himself into the enterprise with all the energy of his nature, and soon was master of a force, in vessels and men, nearly half as large as that of Carleton. He moved his little fleet across a narrow strait between Valcour Island and the mainland, in such a position that the whole force of the enemy could not be made to bear upon him at one time; there he awaited the contest. As Carleton, with a favorable wind, swept briskly up the lake, he passed the island behind which Arnold's flotilla lay snugly anchored, before he observed it. The wind was such that the larger ships could not beat up the strait, but the smaller vessels advanced, and a desperate encounter ensued, which was continued until evening came on. Then Carleton arranged his squadron so as to intercept Arnold's escape and awaited the morning; when, if his larger vessels could be made to bear, he felt certain of the prize. The night proved dark and cloudy; favored by this circumstance, Arnold slipped by the enemy, and at daylight was some miles on his way to Crown Point. But as most of his vessels were in bad condition they could make but little headway; only six reached that place in safety, two were sunk, and the others were overtaken by Carleton a few miles from the Point, where one was captured with the crew. Arnold fought desperately, until his galley, the Congress,

was cut to pieces and one-third of her crew killed. Determined that his flag should not be struck, he ordered his vessels to be grounded and set on fire. When this was done he, with his men, leaped out and waded to the shore, and by well-directed rifle-shots kept the enemy at bay till the vessels were consumed and with them the still waving flag; then giving a triumphant cheer, they moved off through the woods to Crown Point, where they found the remnant of the fleet. They stayed only to destroy the houses and the stores at the fort, and then embarked for Ticonderoga. Before the enemy arrived Gates, who commanded at that post, had so strengthened his position that Carleton decided not to attack it, but to retire to Canada and postpone his wintering in Albany to some future day.

As the forts on the Lakes were safe for the present, General Schuyler detached the seven regiments, of which we have spoken, to the relief of Washington. When Lee learned that three of these regiments were at Peekskill he ordered them to join him at Morristown. The remaining four, under General Gates, were passing through northern New Jersey toward Trenton.

Gates was detained by a severe snow-storm, and uncertain as to the exact position of the army, he sent forward Major Wilkinson with a letter to Washington, stating his position and asking what route he should take to the camp. Wilkinson learned that Washington had crossed the Delaware; and as General Lee, the second in command, was at Morristown, he made his way thither. Just at this time Lee with a small guard was quartered for the night at a tavern at Baskenridge, three miles from his army, which was left under the command of Sullivan. Here he was joined by Wilkinson on the morning of the thirteenth of December. Lee took his breakfast in a

leisurely manner, discussed the news, and had just finished a letter to General Gates when, much to his surprise, the house was surrounded by a party of British dragoons. He had not dreamed that an enemy was near, and his guards were off duty. But a Tory of the neighborhood had learned the evening before where he intended to lodge and breakfast, and had, during the night, ridden eighteen miles to Brunswick to inform the enemy and to pilot them to the spot. For a few moments all was confusion. The dragoons were calling for the General, and the General was calling for the guards, who were scattered in all directions. The scene was soon closed. General Lee without a hat, clad in a blanket-coat and slippers, was mounted on a horse that stood at the door, and borne off in triumph to the British army at Brunswick.

Had Lee, by some fortunate accident, succeeded in retrieving the fortunes of the army, unsuccessful under Washington, it is probable that the wishes of the people might have turned toward him as commander-in-chief. For men are too apt to judge of those who live in the same age with themselves merely by their success; and too often they yield to what is self-confident and assuming, the honor and respect due to sober judgment and high moral principles.

Under these circumstances, Lee's success would have proved most unfortunate for the country, for he had neither the judgment nor the principle necessary to guide it safely through the approaching crisis.

After the capture of Lee the troops under Sullivan moved on at once to join the Commander-in-chief. General Gates, who had left his regiments at Morristown, reached the camp on the same day. As Washington had now a force of about six thousand men fit for service, he was anxious to strike a blow that

should revive the courage of the army and the people before the disbandment of those troops whose terms of enlistment were about to expire. The prospect of success was doubtful, but he felt that, under the circumstances, inaction would ruin the cause, and defeat could do no more.

Howe was in New York; Cornwallis, who was on the eve of embarking for England, was there also. The British forces in New Jersey, though strong, were much scattered. The Hessians, who were in the advance, were carelessly cantoned at different points along the eastern bank of the Delaware. Colonel Donop was stationed at Burlington, and his forces were quartered above and below that point. Colonel Rahl, who had distinguished himself at White Plains and Fort Washington, was at Trenton with a force of fifteen hundred men. This brave but careless commander took his ease, enjoyed his music and bath, and when it was proposed to throw up works upon which to mount cannon in readiness against an assault, said merrily: "Pooh pooh! an assault by the rebels! Let them come; we'll at them with the bayonet." The Hessians were a terror to the people; they plundered indiscriminately Whig and Tory. The American soldiers hated them intensely for their savage bayonetings on the battle-field, and were eager to avenge the outrages inflicted upon their friends and countrymen.

Washington proposed to cross the river and surprise the Hessians at different points. A council of war was held, and Christmas night was fixed upon for the enterprise. By the plan proposed Washington himself was to cross nine miles above Trenton and march down upon that place. Colonel Ewing, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to cross a mile below the town and secure the bridge over Assunpink creek, at the south side of it, and thus cut off the



enemy's retreat. Adjutant-general Reed and Colonel Cadwallader, who were stationed at Bristol, were to cross below that place and advance against Count Donop's division. The attacks were to be simultaneous, and five o'clock on the morning of the twenty-sixth was the hour agreed upon.

Just after Sunset, on Christmas night, the division under Washington, twenty-four hundred in number, began to pass over. With this division was a train of twenty field pieces under the command of Colonel Knox. The river was filled with floating ice, and the weather was intensely cold. The boats were guided by Colonel Glover and his regiment of Marblehead fishermen, the same who had guided the boats on the memorable retreat from Long Island. The night was extremely dark and tempestuous, and the floating ice and strong wind drove them out of their course again and again.

Washington had hoped to be on the march by midnight, but hour after hour passed, and it was four o'clock before the artillery was landed and the troops ready to move on. They marched in two divisions, one led by Washington (with whom were Generals Greene, Stirling, Mercer and Stephen), by a circuitous route to the north of the town, while the other, under Sullivan, with whom was Colonel John Stark, with his New Hampshire band, was to advance by a direct road along the river to the west and south side. Sullivan was to halt at a certain point to allow time for the main division to make the circuit.

It was eight o'clock before this division reached the immediate neighborhood of Trenton; they had struggled through a terrible storm of hail and snow; it had impeded their march, but it had also aided to conceal their movements from the enemy. Washington, who had pushed on with the advance, asked of a man who was chopping wood by the roadside the way

to the Hessian picket. He answered gruffly, "I don't know," and went on with his work. "You may tell," said Captain Forrest of the artillery, "for that is General Washington." "God bless and prosper you," exclaimed the man, raising his hands to heaven, "the picket is in that house, and the sentry stands near that tree."

In a few minutes the picket-guards were driven in. Late as it was, the Hessians were completely surprised. According to their custom, they had indulged freely in the festivities of Christmas, and were resting thoughtless of danger, when the drums suddenly beat to arms. All was confusion. At the first alarm, Colonel Rahl, who learned from the lieutenant of the picket guard that a large force was advancing to surround him, endeavored to rally his panic-stricken troops. He seems to have meditated a retreat to Princeton; he had, in fact, passed out of the town, but the ambition of the soldier triumphed in his breast; how could he fly before the rebels he despised? He rashly returned to the charge. By this time Washington had gained the main street, and opened a battery of six field-pieces, which swept it from end to end. As Rahl advanced at the head of his grenadiers he fell mortally wounded. At the fall of their leader his soldiers attempted to retreat, but they were intercepted by Colonel Hand, with his Pennsylvania riflemen; and, hemmed in on all sides, they grounded their arms and surrendered at discretion.

Stark, with his detachment, had assaulted the south side of the town, and the firing in that quarter had added to the general confusion. A party of British light-horse, and five hundred Hessians stationed there "took headlong flight, by the bridge across the Assunpink," and thus escaped and joined Donop at Bordentown. Had Colonel Ewing been able

to cross, according to the arrangement, their escape would have been prevented.

The Americans took one thousand prisoners, of whom thirty-two were officers; of their own number, only two were killed and two were frozen to death on the march. Several were wounded, among whom was James Monroe, afterward President of the United States, who was at this time a lieutenant in the army.

The attack designed by Reed and Cadwallader, like that of Colonel Ewing, was prevented by the ice, which made it impossible for them to embark their cannon. Thus the success was incomplete, and Washington at Trenton, encumbered by his prisoners, with a strong force of the enemy below him under Count Donop, and another in his rear at Princeton, prudently resolved to recross the Delaware.

Before he left the town he, with General Greene, visited Colonel Rahl, who survived until the evening of the day after the battle. The dying colonel remembered his grenadiers, and during this visit he commended them to the consideration of Washington. Rahl lies buried in the grave yard of the Presbyterian church in Trenton.

When Washington had disposed of his prisoners and allowed his troops a little time to recruit, he resolved to return and follow up his success before the enthusiasm it had awakened had time to cool. Meantime, he had received from Reed and Cadwallader, who had crossed on the twenty-seventh, the encouraging news that all the Hessian posts on the river were deserted; that Count Donop had retreated with all haste to Brunswick, with a portion of his forces, while the remainder had made their way to Princeton.

"A fair opportunity is now offered," writes Washington at this time, "to drive the enemy out of New

Jersey," and he formed his plans accordingly. The American forces, now no longer needed to guard the Delaware, were gradually concentrating at Trenton. Parties were sent to harass the retreating enemy, and General Heath was ordered to make a demonstration from the Highlands, as if he intended to attack New York. The New England regiments whose terms were about to expire were induced by a bounty of ten dollars and the persuasions of their officers to remain six weeks longer. Men of standing and influence were sent abroad to rouse the militia of New Jersey to avenge the outrages inflicted upon the people by the Hessians. Matters began to wear a brighter aspect, and hope and enthusiasm were revived.

At this crisis Washington received the highest mark of confidence in the gift of the people—Congress invested him with unlimited military authority for six months. The letter of the committee which conveyed to him this resolution closed with these words: "Happy is it for this country that the general of their forces can safely be intrusted with the most unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty, nor property be in the least endangered thereby."<sup>1</sup>

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of Howe when he learned that his Hessians, veterans in war, had fled before the militia. Cornwallis was hurried back to resume his command in the Jerseys.

Washington, anxious to ascertain the movements and designs of the enemy, sent forward Colonel Reed, who was well acquainted with the country to reconnoitre. With Reed were six young horsemen, members of the "Philadelphia City Troop," full of fire and zeal, but who had never seen active service. No reward could induce the terror-stricken people to approach Princeton and bring them information. Noth-

<sup>1</sup>Correspondence of the Revolution vol. iv., p. 552.



ing daunted, the party dashed on till they were in view of the top of the college building, when they observed a British dragoon passing from a barn to a farm-house. Supposing him to be a marauder, they determined to capture him and obtain the desired information. Presently they saw another and another. They charged at once and surrounded the house, "and twelve dragoons, well armed, with their pieces loaded, and having the advantage of the house, surrendered to seven horsemen, six of whom had never seen an enemy before, and, almost in sight of the British army, were brought into the American camp at Trenton, on the same evening."<sup>1</sup> The sergeant of the dragoons alone escaped. The information obtained from these prisoners was most important. Cornwallis, with a body of picked troops, had joined Colonel Grant the day before at Princeton, and they were ready to march the next day upon Trenton, with a strong force of seven or eight thousand men.

In anticipation of an attack, Washington arranged his men, in number about six thousand, in a favorable position on the east bank of Assunpink creek. As the enemy approached, on the second of January, their advance was harassed, and so effectually held in check by forces sent forward under General Greene and Colonel Hand, that they did not reach Trenton till near sunset. The fords and bridges over the creeks were carefully guarded and defended by the American batteries. Cornwallis made repeated attempts to cross, but was as often repulsed; at each repulse a shout ran along the American lines. Thinking that the struggle might be a desperate one, the British commander concluded to defer it till the next day, and retired with the boast that he would "bag the fox in the morning." Both armies kindled their

<sup>1</sup>Life of Colonel Reed, p. 369.

campfires, and once more they rested in sight of each other.

Never had the prospect of the Americans been so gloomy. The officers gathered at the quarters of General Mercer to hold a council of war; to retreat was impossible; behind them was the Delaware, filled with floating ice. Who could propose an expedient that would relieve them from the present dilemma? Such an expedient, one of the boldest and best conceived of the whole war, had crossed the mind of the Commander-in-chief. He judged that the main division of the British forces was with Cornwallis; that Princeton and Brunswick, where their stores were deposited, could be but imperfectly guarded. He proposed to march by a circuitous and obscure road round the left flank of the enemy to Princeton, capture the forces there, and then push on and seize the stores at Brunswick. The plan was accepted at once, and the officers entered into it with alacrity. The stores were sent down the river to Burlington, and various stratagems were resorted to to deceive the enemy. Small parties were left behind, some to be noisily employed in digging trenches within hearing of their sentinels; others to relieve the guards and replenish the camp-fires and preserve all the appearance of a regular encampment; at daylight these were to hasten after the army.

About midnight the Americans began their silent march. The road over which they moved was new and rough, and at sunrise they were still three miles from Princeton. Here they halted and formed into two divisions, one of which, under Washington, was to proceed by a cross-cut to the town, while the other, under General Mercer, was to gain the main road and destroy the bridge, when they had passed over, to prevent the approach of Cornwallis.

Three British regiments had passed the night at

Princeton, and two of them were already on their march to join the forces at Trenton. Colonel Mawhood, commander of the foremost, when about two miles from the town, caught sight of Mercer's division. Believing it a party of Americans who had been driven from Trenton, he sent back a messenger to Princeton to hurry on the other regiments, that they might surround them and cut off their retreat. Presently Mercer espied the British; and now both parties rushed to gain a favorable position on a rising ground. The Americans were successful, and with their rifles opened a severe fire upon the enemy, who returned it vigorously. Almost at the first fire Mercer's horse was shot under him, and the second officer in command fell mortally wounded. The enemy took advantage of the confusion that followed the fall of the leaders and rushed on with the bayonet. The Americans, who were without bayonets, unable to withstand the charge, gave way. As Mercer, now on foot, endeavored to rally them, he was struck down, bayoneted, and left on the field apparently dead.

As his men retreated in confusion, a body of Pennsylvania militia, which Washington had sent to their aid, appeared in sight. Mawhood instantly checked his pursuit of the fugitives and opened upon these fresh troops a heavy fire of artillery which brought them to a stand.

Convinced by the continued firing that the conflict was serious, Washington spurred on in advance of his division, and just at this crisis had reached a rising ground near by, from which he witnessed the scene. He saw the scattered forces of Mercer, the hesitation of the militia; everything was at stake. He dashed forward in the face of Mawhood's artillery, exposed both to the fire of the enemy and the random shots of his own soldiers, and waving his hat,

called upon the faltering and broken forces to follow him. Inspired by his voice and example, they rallied at once and returned to the charge. At this moment a Virginia regiment emerged from a neighboring wood, and with loud cheers engaged in the conflict; while the American artillery, now within range, began to shower grape-shot upon the enemy. The fight was desperate, but the field was won. Mawhood, who, a few minutes before, had felt certain of victory, now with great difficulty forced his way back to the main road and retreated with all haste toward Trenton.

The second regiment was attacked by the brigade under St. Clair; broken and scattered, it fled across the fields towards New Brunswick. Alarmed at the general rout, a part of the third regiment fled in the same direction, while another portion took refuge in the college building. The American artillery was immediately brought to bear upon it, and they soon surrendered.

The British loss in this battle was about one hundred slain and three hundred prisoners, while the Americans lost but few; among these was the brave Colonel Haslet. Mercer, who was left on the field for dead was after the battle discovered by Colonel Armstrong, still alive, but suffering greatly from his wounds, and exposure to the cold. He was borne to a neighboring farm-house, where, after a few days, he expired. As a soldier, he was brave; as a man of sterling merit, he was worthy the respect of his adopted countrymen, for, like Montgomery, he was of foreign birth, and like him, he has won an honorable name among the heroes of the Revolution.

Washington, eager to secure the stores so necessary for his army, pushed on some distance toward Brunswick. A little reflection convinced him that his troops, in their exhausted condition, could not



reach there before they would be overtaken. They had been a night and a day without rest; they were thinly clad, and some of them were barefoot. He stopped and held a consultation with his officers on horseback. They decided that it was injudicious to proceed. Grieved and disappointed that they were unable to reap the advantage of their recent success, they turned their steps toward Morristown.

When morning revealed to the enemy on the banks of the Assunpink the deserted camp of the Americans, Cornwallis was greatly at a loss to divine to what covert the "fox" had fled. Soon the booming of cannon at Princeton gave him the desired information. His thoughts turned at once to the stores at Brunswick; he must save them from the hands of his enemy. His march back to Princeton was much impeded. The Americans had not forgotten to throw obstacles in his way. He found the bridge over Stony Creek, a few miles from the town, broken down, and the party of Americans left for that purpose still in sight. Impatient of delay, he urged on his soldiers, who, although the waters were breast high, dashed across the stream. Believing that Washington was in full march for Brunswick, he halted not at Princeton, but hurried on in pursuit with so much eagerness that he did not observe that the Americans had diverged from the road.

The American army retreated to a strong position at Morristown. There the soldiers provided themselves huts, and remained until the last of May.

For six months after the battle of Princeton no enterprise of importance was undertaken by either party.

The yeomanry of New Jersey were now thoroughly roused to preserve their State from further depredations. They warmly seconded the efforts of Washington, and greatly aided the detachments from the

army, who were on the alert to cut off the foraging parties of the enemy; and so effectually did they harass them that they scarcely ventured out of sight of their camp. Thus unable to obtain provisions for his army, Cornwallis gradually withdrew within his lines, at Brunswick and Amboy, that he might be in communication with New York by water, whence alone he could draw his supplies. Thus those who, a few weeks before, were in possession of nearly all New Jersey, were now able to retain scarcely more of her soil than was sufficient for a camp.

The success that had crowned the American arms at Trenton and Princeton cheered the hearts and revived the hopes of the patriots; but they knew well that the enemy was checked, not conquered; that the struggle must be renewed, and the result was still doubtful.

Washington had established his headquarters at Morristown, while the right wing of his army, under Putnam, was stationed at Princeton, and the left was in the Highlands, under General Heath. Along this extended line, at convenient distances, were established cantonments. Though weak in numbers, the army was so judiciously posted that the enemy, deceived by its apparent strength, hesitated to attack it.

Putnam, who had with him but a few hundred men, resorted to stratagem to hide his weakness. A British officer, who lay mortally wounded at Princeton, desired the presence of a military comrade in his last moments. The kind-hearted general could not deny the request; he sent a flag to Brunswick in quest of the friend, who entered Princeton after dark. Every unoccupied house was carefully lighted, lights gleamed in all the college windows, and the Old General marched and countermarched his scanty forces to such effect that the British soldier on his return

to the camp reported them as at least five thousand strong.

The winter at Morristown was a season of comparative quiet, during which the Commander-in-chief was engaged in earnest efforts to improve the state of his army. The evil effects of the system of short enlistments adopted by Congress, and repeatedly protested against by Washington, were severely felt at this juncture. The terms of great numbers were about to expire, and new recruits came in but slowly. To guard against the ravages of smallpox, which at times had been fatally prevalent in the army, there were inoculated as fast as they came in.

The exchange of prisoners had become a subject of negotiation. At first the British refused to exchange on equal terms on the plea that the Americans were rebels, but Howe, who had at this time about five thousand on his hands, opened a correspondence with Washington on the subject. Now the Americans in their turn objected to an exchange. Their captured countrymen had been left to the tender mercies of the New York Tories, crowded into warehouses which had been converted into prisons, or into loathsome hulks anchored in the bay; fed with impure food, and left to languish in filth and nakedness. Thrilling tales are told of the sufferings of those confined in the sugar-house and on board the *Jersey*, a prison-ship. More than ten thousand wretched American prisoners died during the war, and were buried without ceremony in shallow graves at Brooklyn, on Long Island. Of those who survived scarcely one ever fully recovered from the effects of these hardships.

Washington refused to recruit the British army by an exchange of well-fed and hale Hessian and British prisoners for emaciated and diseased Americans, whose terms of enlistment had expired and who were scarcely able, from very weakness, to return to their

homes. His policy was sanctioned by Congress—a severe policy, but authorized by the necessities of the times.

To supply the want of field officers, Congress commissioned five major-generals; Stirling, St. Clair, Mifflin, Stephen and Lincoln. The latter we have seen as the secretary of the first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. He was afterward the efficient commander of the militia of that State, and now he was promoted over the heads of all the brigadiers. In these appointments, Arnold, whose meritorious conduct on the battle-field, as well as his seniority as a brigadier, entitled him to promotion, was entirely overlooked. He complained bitterly of this injustice; the wound rankled in his proud breast; from this hour till he found consolation in revenge he seems to have brooded over the disrespect shown him by his countrymen.

Eighteen brigadier-generals were also commissioned, among whom were Glover, the leader of the Marblehead fishermen; George Clinton, of New York, the sturdy guardian of the Highlands, and afterward Vice-President, Woodford and Muhlenburg, of Virginia—the latter a Lutheran clergyman, who at the commencement of hostilities had “laid aside the surplice to put on a uniform,” raised a company of soldiers, and who continued in the army till the close of the war—and Hand and Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania. Wayne was by nature a soldier; even in his school days he turned the heads of his companions by telling them stories of battles and sieges, and drilled them in making and capturing mud forts. In later years he was so distinguished for his daring that he became known in the army by the appellation of “Mad Anthony.”

An Irish adventurer named Conway, who professed to have served for thirty years in the French army,



and to be thoroughly skilled in the science of war, was also commissioned. He proved, however, more famous for intrigues than for military genius or courage.

Congress also authorized the enlistment of four regiments of cavalry. The quartermaster's department was more perfectly arranged, and General Mifflin was placed at its head.

The hospital department was also reorganized, and placed under the charge of Doctor Shippen, of the Medical College at Philadelphia. His principal assistant was Doctor Craik, the friend and companion of Washington in his expeditions against Fort Du Quesne.

Doctor Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and afterward celebrated in his profession, was appointed surgeon-general. The office of adjutant-general, resigned by Colonel Reed, was given to Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts.

Nor was the navy neglected. Of the vessels authorized to be built, several frigates had been finished and equipped, but the want of funds prevented the completion of the remainder, for the Continental money began to depreciate, and loans could not be obtained. The entire American fleet under Admiral Hopkins was at this time blockaded at Providence. But privateers, especially from New England, were eager in pursuit of British vessels trading to the West Indies, of which they captured nearly three hundred and fifty, whose cargoes were worth five millions of dollars. A profitable trade, principally by way of the West Indies, was also opened with France, Spain and Holland, but it was attended by great risks, and a large number of American vessels thus engaged fell into the hands of British cruisers.

In the spring, while Washington still remained at Morristown, the British commenced a series of ma-

rauding expeditions. A strong party was sent up the Hudson to seize the military stores at Peekskill. General McDougall, finding it impossible to defend them against a force so superior, burned them, and retired with his men to the hills in the vicinity. As General Heath had been transferred to the command in Massachusetts, Washington sent Putnam to command in the Highlands.

A month later Cornwallis made an attack on a corps under General Lincoln, stationed at Boundbrook, a few miles from Brunswick. The militia, to whom the duty was intrusted, imperfectly guarded the camp. Lincoln with difficulty extricated himself, after losing a few men and some cannon.

Presently a fleet of twenty-six sail was seen proceeding up the Sound; anxious eyes watched it from the shore. It was the intriguing Tryon, now a major-general, in command of a body of Tories two thousand strong, who was on his way to destroy the military stores collected at Danbury, Connecticut. He landed on the beach between Fairfield and Norwalk on the afternoon of the twenty-fifth, and immediately commenced his march.

The alarm spread; General Silliman, of the Connecticut militia, called out his men, and sent expresses in every direction. Arnold, who had been sent by Washington some months before to prepare defenses at Providence and obtain recruits, happened to be in New Haven when the express arrived with the intelligence of the inroad. He hastened with some volunteers to join Generals Wooster and Silliman, whose forces amounted to about six hundred militia; and the whole company moved after the marauders.

Tryon, who had marched all night, reached Danbury on the afternoon of the twenty-sixth. He commenced at once to destroy the magazines of stores.

Although the inhabitants had abandoned their homes at his approach, he permitted his soldiers to burn almost every house in the village. By morning the work of destruction was complete. The militia were approaching, and the marauders were compelled to run the gantlet to their ships, twenty miles distant.

The Americans were separated into two divisions, one under Wooster, the other under Arnold; while the former was to harass the enemy in the rear, the latter was to make a stand at a convenient point in advance and obstruct their progress.

The brave Wooster, though sixty-eight years of age, led forward his men with great spirit. When they, unused to war, faltered in the face of the enemy's musketry and artillery, he rode to the front and cheered them. "Come on, my boys," cried he, "never mind such random shots." At that moment a musket-ball pierced his side, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded. His soldiers now retreated in confusion.

Arnold had made a stand at Ridgefield, two miles beyond the spot where Wooster fell, and while the enemy was delayed by this skirmishing, he had thrown up a barricade or breastwork. He acted with his usual daring, but after a spirited resistance his little force was overpowered by numbers and driven back. As he was bringing off the rear-guard his horse was shot under him; before he could disengage himself from the struggling animal, a Tory rushed up with a fixed bayonet and cried out, "You are my prisoner." "Not yet," replied Arnold, as he coolly levelled his pistol and shot him dead. He then escaped, rallied his men and renewed the attack.

The determined resistance of the militia retarded the British so much that they were forced to encamp for the night. The next day they were greeted with the same galling fire from behind trees, fences, and

houses, which continued until they came within range of the guns of their ships. They speedily embarked, vain to escape the rifles of the exasperated yeomanry.

General Wooster was conveyed to Danbury, where he died surrounded by his family. His loss was greatly deplored by the patriots. A neat monument in the cemetery of that place now marks his grave.

When Congress learned of the gallant conduct of Arnold, they commissioned him a major-general and presented him with a horse richly caparisoned. Yet even this tardy acknowledgment of his military merit was marred,—the date of his commission still left him below his proper rank. He seemed to feel this second slight more keenly than the first.

The Americans resolved to retaliate in kind, and Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, of Connecticut, with one hundred and seventy men, passed over the Sound to the east end of Long Island. They carried their boats during the night fifteen miles across the neck, launched them on the bay, passed over to Sag Harbor, and destroyed a great amount of provisions and forage collected there for the British. In addition, they burned twelve vessels, took ninety prisoners, and returned without losing a man, having passed over ninety miles in twenty-five hours.

Though strenuous efforts were made to obtain recruits, the smallness of the American Army still continued; want of funds crippled every measure. At the instance of Washington, Congress declared that those redemptioners or indentured servants who enlisted in the army should, by that act, become free-men; and bounties in land were offered the Hessians to induce them to desert.

Meanwhile General Schuyler labored with great zeal in the Northern Department. But his feelings were severely tried by the aspersions which his enemies cast upon his character and conduct of affairs.



In the autumn of 1776 he wrote: "I am so sincerely tired of abuse, that I will let my enemies arrive at the completion of their wishes as soon as I shall have been tried; and attempt to serve my injured country in some other way, where envy and detraction will have no temptation to follow me." But Congress would not accept his resignation. During the winter he made repeated appeals to the Commander-in-chief for reinforcements and supplies, which, for want of means, could not be sent. There were but six or seven hundred men at Ticonderoga; Carleton, he thought, might cross Lake Champlain on the ice and attack them; if successful, he might follow out his original plan and push on to Albany. As the abuse of which Schuyler complained was continued, early in April he proceeded to Philadelphia, and demanded of Congress a committee to inquire into his conduct. Meantime General Gates had been ordered to take command at Ticonderoga.

Schuyler's patriotism was not an impulse, not a matter of mere words, nor did injustice rouse in his breast, as in that of Arnold, the dark spirit of revenge. However, the committee reported in his favor; and, with his character and conduct fully vindicated, he returned to the charge of the Northern Department. The ambitious Gates was deeply chagrined and disappointed; he had flattered himself that Schuyler would never resume his command, and regarded himself as virtually his successor. Professing to be aggrieved, he hastened to Philadelphia to seek redress at the hands of Congress.

The want of a national flag was greatly felt, especially in the marine service. Congress adopted the "Union Flag," with its thirteen stripes, but displaced the "Cross of St. George," and substituted for it thirteen stars; to which one star has since been added for each additional State.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

1777

### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

The Struggle Excites an Interest in England and France—Baron De Kalb—Privateers Fitted Out in France—Negotiations for Munitions of War—Howe's Maneuvers—Burgoyne on His Way From Canada—Ticonderoga Captured—St. Clair's Retreat to Fort Edward—Efforts to Arrest the Progress of Burgoyne—Capture of General Prescott—The Secret Expedition—The British Fleet Puts to Sea—The American Army at Germantown—La Fayette—Pulaski and Kosciusko—Aid Sent to Schuyler—Howe Lands at Elkton—Battle of Brandywine—Possession Taken of Philadelphia—Battle of Germantown—Hessians Repulsed at Fort Mercer—Winter Quarters at Valley Forge.

The unfortunate result of the battle of Long Island; the loss of New York and Fort Washington; and the retreat across New Jersey, were all significant of the weakness of the patriot army. Intelligence of these disasters disheartened the friends of the cause in Europe. Edmund Burke, their firm friend, remarked that, although the Americans had accomplished wonders, yet the overpowering forces to be brought against them in the following campaign must completely crush their hopes of independence. Said he: "An army that is obliged, at all times and in all situations, to decline an engagement may delay their ruin, but can never defend their country."

The intelligent portion of the people of France were not indifferent spectators of this struggle; it was watched with intense interest by her merchants, her manufacturers, her statesmen. From the day on which Canada was wrested from her, France had ardently hoped that her proud rival might in turn lose her own American colonies. Ten years before

the commencement of hostilities, Choiseul, the enlightened statesman and prime minister of Louis XV, sent an agent through the colonies, to ascertain the feelings of the people. That agent was Baron De Kalb, the same who afterward so nobly served the cause in the American army. He was indefatigable in "collecting pamphlets, newspapers, and sermons," which he sent to his employer. Choiseul gathered from them the proofs that the British king and ministry, by their blindness and injustice, were fast alienating the good will of their colonists; and he hoped by offering them, without restriction, the commerce of France, to alienate them more and more. Thus the minds of the French people and government were prepared to afford aid, but not under the present aspect of affairs.

Early in the spring, intelligence reached Europe that the American army, which was supposed to be broken beyond recovery, had suddenly rallied, boldly attacked, and driven the invaders out of New Jersey. It was scarcely thought possible. How could a handful of ill-disciplined, ill-armed yeomanry, so destitute of clothes that some of them froze to death while on duty, and others stained the snow with the blood that flowed from their naked feet, meet and defeat a regular army? Surely men who would thus cheerfully suffer deserved independence! A thrill of enthusiasm was excited in their favor. They were regarded as a nation of heroes, and Washington, because of his prudence and skill, was extolled as the American Fabius.

With the connivance of the government, American privateers were secretly fitted out, and even permitted to sell their prizes in French ports, in spite of the protests of the British ambassador. The government itself secretly sent arms and military stores for the American army. This was done by means of a

fictitious trading-house, known as "Hortales and Company." These supplies were to be paid for in tobacco sent by the way of the West Indies. Soon after the battle of Lexington, secret negotiations on the subject had been entered upon in London by Beaumarchais, an agent of the French court, and Arthur Lee, who for some years had resided in that city as a barrister. The latter was a brother of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, for which colony he had acted as agent in England. The Secret Committee of Congress, in the meantime, sent Silas Deane to Paris as an agent to obtain supplies. Though Deane appeared in that city simply as a merchant, he became an object of suspicion, and was closely watched by British spies. Beaumarchais now made arrangements with him to send three ships laden with military stores to the United States. Unfortunately two of these ships were captured by British cruisers; the third, however, arrived opportunely to furnish some of the regiments recently enlisted at Morristown.

Three months after the declaration of Independence, Doctor Franklin was sent to join Deane in France, and thither Lee was also directed to repair. To these commissioners Congress delegated authority to make a treaty of alliance with the French court. They were admitted to private interviews by Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and encouraged, but the government was not yet prepared to make an open declaration of its true sentiments.

The British ministry, by means of spies, obtained information of some of these proceedings. They immediately issued letters of marque and reprisal against the Americans, while Parliament cheerfully voted supplies and men to prosecute the war.

As the spring advanced, the enemy's movements were watched with anxious interest. That he might observe them to better advantage, Washington, on



the twenty-eighth of May, removed his camp to the heights of Middlebrook, a strong and central position. Early in June, Sir William Howe, who had received large reinforcements, and supplies of tents and camp equipage, established his headquarters at Brunswick, about ten miles distant. He commenced a series of maneuvers and made a feint movement toward Philadelphia, in the hope of drawing Washington from the heights into the open plain, where British discipline might prevail; the latter was too cautious to be thus entrapped, and Howe, foiled in his attempt, retraced his steps to Brunswick. Presently he evacuated that place, and hastened with all speed toward Amboy. Washington sent an advance party in pursuit, but suspecting this move was also a feint, he followed slowly with the main body. The suspicion was just; Howe suddenly wheeled, and by a rapid movement endeavored to turn the Americans' left, in order to gain the passes and heights in their rear, but Washington saw his object in time to gain his stronghold. Unable to bring on an engagement, Howe in a few days withdrew his forces to Staten Island.

Just before this time, important news had been received from the North. Burgoyne, who had succeeded Sir Guy Carleton, was about to advance by way of Lake Champlain, while a detachment under General St. Leger and Sir John Johnson was to make its way by Oswego to the Mohawk River. On the very day that the British left New Jersey, further intelligence came from St. Clair that the enemy's fleet was actually approaching Ticonderoga, where he was in command.

The force under Burgoyne was not precisely known; it was, however, thought to be small, but in truth he had a finely equipped army of nearly ten thousand men, four-fifths of whom were regulars,

British and Hessian; the remainder Canadians and Indians. It was furnished with one of the finest parks of field-artillery, under the command of General Phillips, who had acquired his great reputation as an artillery officer in the wars of Germany. He was also ably supported by the second in command, General Frazer, an officer of great merit, and who was characterized as the soul of the army. The Hessians were under Baron Riedesel.

Near Crown Point, Burgoyne met the chiefs of the Six Nations in council, and induced four hundred of their warriors to join them. A few days later he issued a bombastic proclamation, in which he threatened to punish the patriots who would not immediately submit, and to let loose upon them the Indians.

St. Clair, who had but three thousand men, wrote to General Schuyler at Albany that he could not defend Ticonderoga unless he had reinforcements, ending his letter by saying: "Everything will be done that is practicable to frustrate the enemy's designs; but what can be expected from troops ill-armed, naked, and unaccoutred?" Still unaware of the force of the enemy, he trusted in his position, and that he could hold out for some time.

There was an abrupt hill on the edge of the narrow channel which connects Lakes Champlain and George. This hill commanded Fort Ticonderoga, and also Fort Independence, on the east side of Champlain. It was thought by St. Clair and others to be absolutely inaccessible for artillery. But the "wily Phillips," acting on the principle that "where a goat can go a man may go; and where a man can go, artillery may be drawn up," suddenly appeared on this hill-top. For three days he had been at work taking his cannon up the height, and in twenty-four hours he would be ready to "rain iron hail" on both the forts from his Fort Defiance.

The Americans must now evacuate the forts, or be made prisoners. St. Clair chose the former. He could only escape in the night, and his preparations must be made in the face of the enemy. The two hundred bateaux were to be laden with stores, the women, the sick and wounded, and sent up South River. St. Clair, with the main body, was to pass to Fort Independence, and with its garrison march through the woods to Skeenesborough, now Whitehall. With the greatest secrecy and speed the arrangements were made; the boats, concealed by the deep shadows of the mountains, were under way; the main body had passed over the drawbridge to Independence, and was on its march, and the rear division was just leaving Ticonderoga, when suddenly, about four o'clock in the morning, the whole heavens were lighted up; a house on Mount Independence was on fire, and its light revealed the Americans in full retreat. Alarm guns and beating of drums aroused the British. General Fraser was soon in motion with his division, the abandoned forts were taken possession of, and by daylight measures concerted to pursue the fugitives both by land and water. Fraser was to pursue St. Clair with his division, and General Riedesel to follow with his Hessians, while Burgoyne himself sailed in his ships to overtake the American flotilla. On the afternoon of the next day the flotilla reached Whitehall; but scarcely were they landed when the roaring of artillery told that the British gunboats had overtaken the rear-guard of galleys. Presently, fugitives from these brought intelligence that the British frigates had landed Indians who were coming to cut off their retreat. Everything was abandoned and set on fire; all took to flight toward Fort Anne, at which place, after a most harassing night-march, they arrived. The enemy appeared the same day, but were held in check by

sharp skirmishing. The Americans thought this the vanguard of Burgoyne's army, and they set Fort Anne on fire and retreated sixteen miles further to Fort Edward, where General Schuyler had just arrived with reinforcements.

General St. Clair continued his retreat, and at night arrived at Castleton; his rear-guard, contrary to his express orders, stopped six miles short of that place. The next morning the guard was startled by an attack from Fraser's division, which had marched nearly all night. At the first onset a regiment of militia fled, but the regiments of Warner and Francis made a spirited resistance; yet they were compelled to yield to superior numbers, and make the best retreat they could. St. Clair, in the meantime, pushed on through the woods; after seven days he appeared at Fort Edward, with his soldiers wearied and haggard from toil and exposure.

Schuyler sent at once a strong force to put obstructions in Wood Creek; to fell trees and break down the bridges on the road from Fort Anne to Fort Edward. This being the only road across that rough and thickly wooded country, it took Burgoyne three weeks to remove these obstructions and arrive at Fort Edward. The British hailed with shouts of exultation the Hudson—the object of their toil. It would be easy, they thought, to force their way to Albany, in which place Burgoyne boasted he would eat his Christmas dinner.

Schuyler now retreated to Saratoga. In these reverses the loss of military stores, artillery, and ammunition was immense, and the intelligence spread consternation through the country. The American army under Schuyler consisted of only about five thousand men, the majority of whom were militia; many were without arms, while there was a deficiency of ammunition and provisions.

Just at this time a daring and successful adventure mortified the enemy and afforded no little triumph to American enterprise. The commanding officer at Newport, General Prescott, famous for the arbitrary and contemptuous manner in which he treated the "rebels," offered a reward for the capture of Arnold, who replied to the insult by offering half the sum for the capture of Prescott. It was ascertained, by means of spies, that the latter was lodging at a certain house in the outskirts of the town. On a dark night a company of select men, with Colonel Barton at their head, crossed Narraganset Bay in whale-boats, threading their way through the British fleet. They secured the sentinel at the door, burst into the house, and seized Prescott, who was in bed. The astonished General only asked if he might put on his clothes. "Very few and very quick," replied Barton. He returned with his prisoner across the bay without being discovered. This was a counterpart of the capture of Lee, for whom Prescott was afterward exchanged.

The uncertainty as to the designs of the enemy was perplexing. Washington learned from spies in New York that Howe was preparing for an expedition by water, but its destination was a profound secret. Burgoyne was evidently pressing on toward the South, to obtain possession of the Hudson. Did Howe intend to move up that river to co-operate with him, and thus cut off the communication between New England and the other State; to make an attack on Boston, and thus employ the militia of those States at home and prevent their joining Schuyler, or to endeavor to reach Philadelphia by water? were questions difficult to answer. In the midst of these speculations as to its destination, the British fleet, on board of which were about eighteen thousand men, under the command of Howe, passed out through the



Narrows and bore away. Intelligence came in the course of ten days that it was seen off Cape May, and Washington moved the army across the Delaware to Germantown, a few miles from Philadelphia.

Presently it was ascertained that the fleet had sailed to the eastward. Was it to return to New York, or had it sailed for Boston? Till the designs of the enemy were more definitely known, the army was held in readiness to march at a moment's notice.

While waiting for time to unravel these mysterious movements of Sir William, Washington visited Philadelphia to consult with Congress, and to give directions for the further construction of fortifications on the Delaware, to prevent the enemy from ascending to the city. Some months before, Arnold, after refusing the command in the Highlands offered him by Washington to soothe his wounded feelings, had accepted that in Philadelphia, and with the aid of General Mifflin had already partially constructed defenses.

The Duke of Gloucester, the brother of the king of England, at a dinner given him by French officers in the town of Mentz, had told the story, and the cause of the rebellion then going on in America. A youth of nineteen belonging to one of the noble families of France was a listener. For the first time he heard of the Declaration of Independence, and the full particulars of the struggle for liberty then in progress in the colonies beyond the Atlantic. His generous sympathies were enlisted; he could appreciate the nobleness of their cause, and his soul was fired with the desire to fly to their aid. Though happily married, and blest with wealth, high social position, and domestic joys, he was willing to leave them all and risk his life in the cause of freedom. This young man was the Marquis De Lafayette.

Though the French government was not prepared

to take a decided stand while the issue seemed doubtful, yet this consideration, instead of checking, inflamed his ardor. "Now I see a chance for usefulness which I had not anticipated. I have money; I will purchase a ship, which will convey me to America myself, my companions, and the freight for Congress." Such were his words; and he secretly purchased a vessel which Deane loaded with military stores, and, accompanied by eleven officers, among whom was the Baron De Kalb, he sailed directly for the United States. He landed on the coast of South Carolina, and proceeded at once to Philadelphia, to have an interview with Congress. The number of foreign officers who were applicants for employment in the army was so great that Congress found difficulty in disposing of them. Deane had been authorized to engage a few competent officers, but he seems to have accepted all who applied; and many came as adventurers, and "even some who brought high recommendations were remarkable for nothing but extravagant self-conceit and boundless demands for rank, command and pay."<sup>1</sup>

But the earnest disinterestedness of Lafayette captivated all hearts. Though he offered to serve as a volunteer without pay, Congress commissioned him a major-general, but without any special command. A few days after this, Washington and Lafayette met—names to be ever linked in the annals of freedom. Congress also accepted the services of Count Pulaski, already famous for his patriotic defense of his native Poland. His fellow-countryman, Thaddeus Kosciusko—a youth of twenty-one—afterward equally celebrated in fighting, though unsuccessfully, for the liberties of the same Poland, was already with General Schuyler, acting in the capacity of engineer.

It was now ascertained that Sir Henry Clinton,

<sup>1</sup>Hildreth, vol. iii. p. 194.

whom Howe had left in command in New York, had a force sufficient not merely to penetrate up the Hudson and co-operate with Burgoyne, but to send detachments and create a diversion in favor of Howe in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

Just at this time came urgent appeals from Schuyler, and Washington detached to his aid two brigades from the Highlands, and soon after Colonel Morgan with his riflemen, to counteract the Indians, of whom the militia had a great dread. He had already sent Arnold, who would be of special service in that region—the scene of some of his brilliant exploits. Now he directed General Lincoln, who was in Massachusetts, to repair thither with a portion of the militia of that State, and sent an express to Putnam to hold himself in readiness to repel any attack from Clinton, and prevent his forming a junction with Burgoyne. We will now leave the affairs in the North till we have disposed of those connected with Howe's expedition.

In the midst of uncertainty, Washington was about to issue orders for the army at Germantown to move toward New York when an express brought him the intelligence that the British fleet had passed into the Chesapeake. The mystery was easily explained. Howe had learned of the obstructions in the Delaware, and he now designed to land his troops at the head of the Chesapeake, and march thence to Philadelphia, while the fleet should return and, in concert with the land forces, reduce the forts on the Delaware. After being delayed some weeks by adverse winds, his army was now landed at Elkton, about sixty miles from Philadelphia. His first demonstration was to issue another of his famous proclamations; again he offered pardon to those rebels who would submit, and promised protection to those persons who would remain peaceably at home.

The main body of the American army was still at Germantown, where the militia, that had been called out, had assembled. Washington was sadly deficient in men and means to meet the British in open conflict; and there were no hills in the region which he could occupy. He had only eleven thousand effective men; there was none of that enthusiasm which was then bringing the militia in thousands to repel Burgoyne. The Quakers of Delaware and Pennsylvania were at best but lukewarm in the cause, while the Germans wished to be neutral and to avoid the expense.

Washington concentrated his army in the vicinity of Wilmington, but after examining the country resolved to fall back beyond the Brandywine creek, which was everywhere fordable. The main road to Philadelphia crossed the creek at Chadd's Ford. This, it was thought, would be the main point of attack. A hill overlooking the ford had been intrenched, and there Wayne was stationed with the artillery. The right wing was commanded by Sullivan, who had just arrived with three thousand men from Jersey; his division extended two miles up the creek. The left wing, under General Armstrong—the same who destroyed the Indian town of Kittaning—extended a mile below, while General Greene, with the reserve, was stationed in the rear of the center on the hills.

In the morning the enemy in heavy column was described moving toward Chadd's Ford. This division could be only partially seen because of intervening woods, but it appeared to be the main body of the enemy. Skirmishing soon commenced between the riflemen and the enemy, who made several attempts to cross the ford, but were as often repulsed.

Near mid-day a note from Sullivan stated he had heard that Howe, with a large body of troops, was

passing up another road, with the intention of reaching the upper fords of the creek, and then turning the right flank of the Americans. Washington sent a company to reconnoitre. In the meantime he determined to throw his entire force on the enemy immediately in his front, and rout them before they could obtain assistance from the division marching the other road; his orders were given for both wings to co-operate. This would have been a skilful move and, in all probability, have secured the defeat of Knyphausen, who, with his Hessians, was in front.

At the moment Sullivan was complying with the order, unfortunately Major Spicer came from the upper fords and reported that there was no enemy in that quarter. This information was transmitted to the Commander-in-chief, who, in consequence, countermanded the former order till he could receive further information. After waiting some time a patriot of the neighborhood, with his horse in a foam, dashed into the presence of Washington, and declared that Howe was really passing the fords and rapidly gaining the rear of the American army. Washington replied that he had just heard there was no enemy in that quarter. "You are mistaken, general," exclaimed the excited countryman; "my life for it, you are mistaken." And tracing the course of the roads in the sand, he showed him the position. All doubts were removed in a few minutes by the return of the party sent to reconnoitre, with intelligence that a large body of the enemy was fast gaining their rear.

Lord Cornwallis, led by Tory guides, had marched a circuit of seventeen miles, and Knyphausen was merely waiting at Chadd's Ford for that circuit to be accomplished.

Sullivan was ordered to oppose Cornwallis, and Greene, with the reserve, to give aid where it might



be needed. Sullivan made a vigorous resistance, but was forced to fall back to a piece of woods, in which the British became entangled. The Americans rallied on a hill, and there made a still firmer resistance, but were at length compelled to fall back. Greene was now ordered to move to their support, which he did with such rapidity that his men marched, or rather ran, five miles in less than an hour. Such was the skilful disposition of his soldiers that they not only checked the enemy, but opened their ranks and let the retreating Americans pass through. This brave conduct of the reserve saved Wayne's division from a complete rout. He had stubbornly withstood the Hessians at the Ford, but when he saw the forces under Sullivan retreating, unable to cope with half the British army, he gradually, and in order, fell back. The Hessians were not disposed to press upon their determined foe. Thus ended the battle of Brandywine. The Americans were driven from the field, but the soldiers were not aware that they had suffered a defeat; they thought they had received only a check. Though some of the militia gave way at once, the great majority fought bravely, met the enemy in deadly conflict with the bayonet, and forced them back; but at last numbers prevailed.

Lafayette behaved with great bravery and prudence; he had leaped from his horse to rally the troops, when he was severely wounded in the leg. Count Pulaski also distinguished himself greatly—riding up within pistol-shot of the enemy to reconnoitre. Congress promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general, and gave him the command of the horse.

Sir William Howe loved repose, and he did not press his advantage, but remained two days encamped near the field of battle.

During this time the Americans retreated first to

Chester, and on the twelfth safely across the Schuylkill, and thence proceeded to Germantown; there Washington let them repose a day or two. They were in good spirits; he prepared to meet the enemy again, and with this intention crossed the river. About twenty-five miles from Philadelphia the two armies met, but a furious storm prevented a conflict. The rain so much injured the arms and ammunition that Washington deemed it prudent once more to recross the river and retire to Pott's Grove, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. General Wayne was detached in the meanwhile with fifteen hundred men to secretly gain the rear of the British army, and cut off their baggage; but a Tory carried information of the enterprise, and Wayne himself was surprised, and after the loss of three hundred men forced to retreat.

When it seemed certain that the city must fall into the hands of the British, the military stores were removed and a contribution levied upon the inhabitants for blankets, clothes, shoes, and other necessities for the army during the approaching winter.

It was a time of great danger, and Congress again clothed Washington with absolute power, first for sixty days, and soon after for double that period. This done, that body adjourned, first to Lancaster, and then in a few days to York, beyond the Susquehanna.

Howe, by a night march, was enabled to pass the Schuylkill; he then pushed on a detachment which took possession of Philadelphia, while the main body of his army halted at Germantown.

Though the city was in the hands of the enemy, the Americans still held possession of the forts on the lower Delaware.

With much exertion, Admiral Howe had brought the fleet round from the Chesapeake and anchored it

below the forts. Fort Mifflin was situated on a low mud island at the confluence of the Schuylkill and the Delaware. Directly opposite, at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore, was Fort Mercer. These were furnished with heavy cannon. Heavy timbers framed together, with beams projecting and armed with iron spikes, were sunk in the river by means of weights; in addition to these obstructions were floating batteries above.

Washington, having learned from intercepted letters, that a detachment had left Germantown to aid the fleet in an attack on these forts, resolved to surprise the remainder. After a night's march of fourteen miles, he entered Germantown at sunrise. A dense fog concealed the outskirts of the town, and he was unable to learn the precise position of the enemy, or that of his own troops. The British, taken by surprise and thrown into confusion, gave way on all sides. The Americans, instead of pursuing their advantage, lingered to attack a strong stone house, in which a few of the enemy had taken refuge, when an unaccountable panic seized them: the complete victory within their grasp was lost. The enemy now rallied and attacked in their turn; but the Americans retreated without loss, and carried off all their cannon and their wounded.

Washington, in writing to Congress, says: "Every account confirms the opinion I at first entertained, that our troops retreated at the instant when victory was declaring herself in our favor." And such is the testimony of many officers in their letters to their friends.

The effect of the bold attack upon Germantown was soon perceptible in the spirit of the Americans. One writes: "Though we gave away a complete victory, we have learned this valuable truth, that we are able to beat them by vigorous exertions, and that we

are far superior in point of swiftness; we are in high spirits." Again we find expressions of confidence of a different character. An officer writes: "For my own part, I am so fully convinced of the justice of the cause in which we are contending, and that Providence, in its own good time, will succeed and bless it, that were I to see twelve of the United States overrun by our cruel invaders, I should still believe the thirteenth would not only save itself, but also work out the deliverance of the others."

Howe immediately withdrew his troops from Germantown. He must either obtain possession of the forts, that his fleet might come up, or evacuate the city for want of provisions. The Americans, on the other hand, resolved to defend the forts to the last extremity. Howe sent Count Donop, with twelve hundred picked men, grenadiers, to make an assault on Fort Mercer, while the men-of-war should open on Fort Mifflin and the floating batteries. The out-works of Fort Mercer were not fully completed, when Count Donop suddenly appeared. Colonel Christopher Greene ordered the men—four hundred Rhode Island Continentals—to keep out of sight as much as possible. To deceive the enemy, he made a short stand at the outer works, and then retreated rapidly to the inner redoubt. The enemy advanced in two columns; the Americans received them with a brisk fire, and then retreated in haste. The Hessians thought the day their own, and with shouts of triumph rushed to storm the inner redoubt. They were met by an overwhelming discharge of grape-shot and musketry, and completely repulsed, with the loss of four hundred men; the Americans lost but eight slain and twenty-nine wounded. After the battle, as an American officer was passing among the slain, a voice called out: "Whoever you are, draw me hence." It was Count Donop. A few days afterward, when he



felt his end approaching, he lamented his condition. "I die," said he, "the victim of my ambition and of the avarice of my sovereign."

Fort Mifflin was commanded by Colonel Samuel Smith, of Maryland. In their attacks upon it the British lost two men-of-war—one of which was blown up, the other burned.

Meantime the enemy received reinforcements from New York, and were able to take possession of another island, on which they erected batteries, and opened an incessant fire upon Fort Mifflin. After a most undaunted defense, both forts were abandoned, and the enemy left to remove the obstructions in the river at their leisure.

On the twenty-ninth Washington retired to White Marsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia. Before going into winter-quarters, Howe thought to surprise his camp. A Quaker lady, Mrs. Darrah, overheard some British officers speaking of the intended expedition; she immediately gave Washington information of what was going on. Preparations were made to give the British a warm reception. A company was sent to harass them on their night-march. Finding themselves discovered, they hesitated to press on. The next day, Howe labored to draw Washington into the plain, where British discipline might be successful. When he saw the effort was useless, he retired to Philadelphia.

Congress now summoned the militia to repair to the main army. A few days after Howe's withdrawal from Germantown, Washington also retired to winter-quarters at Valley Forge, a rugged hollow on the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. He could thus protect the Congress at York as well as his stores at Reading.

We now turn to relate events—most important in their influence—which, during the last few months, had transpired in the North.



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

1777

### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

The Invasion From Canada—Appointment of General Gates—Burgoyne's Advance—Jenny McCrea—St. Leger Besieges Fort Stanwix—The Attempt to Relieve It—St. Leger Retreats—Battle of Bennington—Change of Prospects—Battle of Behmus' Heights—Ticonderoga Besieged—Burgoyne Surrenders His Army at Saratoga—The Prisoners—Capture of Forts on the Hudson—Schuyler.

The unlooked for loss of Ticonderoga, with the disasters that so rapidly followed, startled the people of the northern States more than any event of the war. So little did Congress appreciate the difficulties under which Schuyler and his officers labored, that they attributed these misfortunes to their incapacity. John Adams, then President of the Board of War, gave expression to this feeling when he wrote: "We shall never be able to defend a post till we shoot a general." In the excitement of the moment, Congress ordered all the northern generals to be recalled and an inquiry instituted into their conduct. The northern army would thus be without officers; but, on a representation to this effect, Washington obtained a suspension of the injudicious order. Clamors against Schuyler were renewed with greater violence than ever. In truth, many members of Congress were influenced by an unreasonable prejudice which had been excited in New England against him. When Washington, whose confidence in Schuyler was unshaken, declined to make any change in the Northern Department, "Congress made the nomination; the Eastern influence prevailed, and Gates received

the appointment, so long the object of his aspirations, if not intrigues."<sup>1</sup>

The correspondence between Washington and Schuyler makes known the plan upon which they agreed to repel the invaders. This was to keep bodies of men on their flank and rear, intercept their supplies, and cut off the detachments sent from the main army. We shall see how completely this plan succeeded.

Confident of subduing the "rebels," Burgoyne, on his arrival at Fort Edward, issued a second proclamation, in which he called upon the people to appoint deputies to meet in convention at Castleton, and take measures to re-establish the royal authority. To counteract this, Schuyler issued a proclamation, threatening to punish those as traitors who in this manner should aid the enemy. Burgoyne's proclamation had no effect; the hardy yeomanry were too patriotic. The whole northern portion of the country was deeply moved, and the militia rallied to arms.

The Indians of Burgoyne's army prowled about the country, murdering and scalping. A beautiful girl, Jenny McCrea, the daughter of a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman of New Jersey who died before the war, was visiting a friend in the vicinity of Fort Edward. Her family were Whigs; she was, however, betrothed to a young man, David Jones, a Tory, who had gone to Canada some time before, and was now a lieutenant in Burgoyne's army. When Fort Edward was about to be abandoned, her brother urged her to leave with the families of the neighborhood, who were going out of danger to Albany. She lingered; she hoped, perhaps, to see her lover, but as danger drew nearer she prepared to comply with her brother's request.

At the moment of leaving, a band of Indians sent

<sup>1</sup>Washington Irving.

by Burgoyne to harass the Americans burst into the house, and carried her off a captive. Anxious for her safety, she promised her captors a reward, if they would take her to the British Camp. On the way the Indians quarrelled as to who should have the promised reward, and one of them in a rage killed the poor girl, and carried off her scalp. This murder sent a thrill of horror throughout the land. The people remembered the murders of former days, when the Indians were urged on by French influence; and now they asked,—“Must those scenes be re-enacted by the savage hirelings of England, our mother country?” And they flocked in thousands to repel such an enemy. Thus “the blood of this unfortunate girl was not shed in vain. Armies sprang up from it. Her name passed as a note of alarm along the banks of the Hudson; it was a rallying word among the green mountains of Vermont, and brought down all her hardy yeomanry.”<sup>1</sup>

St. Leger had passed up the Oswego, and was besieging Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler. This fort was on the Mohawk, at the carrying-place to Lake Oneida. With St. Leger was Sir John Johnson, with his Royal Greens, and his savage retainers, the Mohawks, under the celebrated chief, Brant. This Brant had been a pupil in Wheelock’s school—since Dartmouth college—established for the education of Indians and others. The fort was held by two New York regiments, under Colonels Gansevoort and Willet. General Herkimer raised the militia of the neighborhood, and went to relieve the fort. But owing to the impatience of his men, he fell into an ambuscade of Tories and Indians. Johnson’s Greens were Tories from this vicinity, and neighbor met neighbor in deadly conflict. It was one of the most desperate encounters of the war; quarter was neither given nor

<sup>1</sup>Washington Irving.

asked. There were instances, when all was over, where the death-grasp still held the knife plunged into a neighbor's heart. It seems as if the fight had been presided over by demons. The brave old Herkimer was mortally wounded, but leaning against a tree, he continued to encourage his men, till a successful sortie from the fort compelled the enemy to defend their own camp. The Americans retreated, taking with them their worthy commander, who died a few days after.

The fort was still in a precarious position, and must be relieved. When intelligence of this came to the army, Arnold volunteered to march to its aid. To frighten the Indians he employed stratagem. He sent in advance the most exaggerated stories of the number of his men, and proclaimed that Burgoyne had been totally defeated. As anticipated, the Indians deserted in great numbers. The panic became so great that, two days before Arnold arrived at the Fort, St. Leger had retreated, leaving his tents standing.

General Schuyler now moved from Saratoga down to the mouth of the Mohawk, and there intrenched himself. The British had the full command of Lake George; but, with all their exertions, they were nearly out of provisions. The distance from the upper end of that lake to the Hudson was only eighteen miles, but so effectively had the draft-cattle and horses been removed that it seemed almost impossible to transport their baggage.

To obtain horses for a company of dismounted German dragoons and seize stores collected at Bennington, Vermont, Burgoyne sent a detachment of Indians and Tories, and five hundred Germans, under Lieutenant-colonel Baum. He had been told that the grain and provisions deposited in that place were

but poorly guarded. He was also made to believe that five to one of the people were royalists.

It was soon noised abroad that the enemy were on the way, and the Green Mountain Boys began to assemble. Colonel Stark having been slighted, as he thought, at the recent appointment of officers by Congress, had withdrawn from the Continental army. He was invited to take command of the assembling yeomanry; he accepted the invitation with joy. Expresses were sent in every direction to warn the people to drive off their cattle and horses, and conceal their grain and wagons, and also to Manchester, for Seth Warner to hasten to Bennington with his regiment.

When Baum—who moved very slowly, his men stopping in the woods every few minutes to dress their lines—was within six miles of Bennington, he heard of Stark's approach; he halted, began to intrench, and sent to Burgoyne for reinforcements. Colonel Breyman was sent to his aid, with five hundred Hessians and two field-pieces. A severe storm prevented Stark from making an attack, and also retarded the march of Breyman and Warner. During the night the Berkshire militia joined Stark. An incident may show the spirit of the times: "Among these militia was a belligerent parson, full of fight, Allen by name, possibly of the bellicose family of the hero of Ticonderoga."<sup>1</sup> "General," cried he, "the people of Berkshire have been often called out to no purpose; if you don't give them a chance to fight now they will never turn out again." "You would not turn out now, while it is dark and raining, would you?" demanded Stark. "Not just now," was the reply. "Well, if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I don't give you fighting enough," rejoined the veteran, "I'll never ask you to turn out again."

<sup>1</sup>Washington Irving.



The next morning the sun did shine, and Stark drew out his forces. When he came in sight of the enemy, turning to his men he exclaimed: "There are the readcoats! We must beat them today or Molly Stark's a widow." The attack was made in both rear and front at the same time. The Indians and Tories generally fled to the woods. Baum defended his lines with great determination, and his field-pieces were well manned, but after two hours' fighting the works were stormed. The Americans had no artillery, but they rushed up within a few yards of the enemy's cannon, the better to take aim at the gunners. At length Baum fell mortally wounded, and his men surrendered.

Scarcely was the battle ended, when Breyman appeared on the one side, and Warner, who had marched all night in the rain, on the other. The fighting was renewed, and continued till night. Favored by the darkness, Breyman left his artillery and made the best of his way back to Burgoyne. About two hundred of the enemy were slain and six hundred taken prisoners. A thousand stand of arms and four pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the Americans, who had but fourteen killed and forty wounded.

What a change a few weeks had produced in the prospects of the two main armies! To the Americans the militia were flocking, the brigades from the Highlands had arrived, and Morgan with that terror of the Indians, his riflemen, five hundred strong. Disasters, in the meanwhile, crowded upon Burgoyne. The side enterprises of St. Leger and Baum had failed; the New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops were pressing on toward Ticonderoga to cut off his supplies and intercourse with Canada. The Indians, in great numbers, were deserting. They had taken umbrage because their atrocities were to be here-

after restrained. Burgoyne was a gentleman, humane and cultivated; he abhorred these outrages, and, to his honor be it said, preferred that the savages should leave his army rather than they should remain and be unrestrained. The disgrace of employing them belongs to his government at home, not to him.

It was at this juncture that Gates arrived to take command. He found the army in high spirits, nearly six thousand in number, and increasing every day. Schuyler met him with his usual highminded courtesy, explained fully the condition of the two armies, and offered him all the assistance he could give, by his counsel or otherwise. So little did Gates appreciate such generous impulses that, a few days after, when he called his first council of war, he omitted to invite Schuyler.

Leaving the islands at the mouth of the Mohawk, Gates moved up the river and took position on Behmus' Heights—a ridge of hills extending close to the river-bank and lying nearly east of Saratoga. There he intrenched his army by strong batteries on the right and left.

Burgoyne had thrown a bridge of boats over the Hudson, and led the English portion of his army to Saratoga, while the Hessians remained on the eastern side. Both divisions moved slowly down the river. There were deep ravines and woods between the two armies, and knolls covered with dense forests; also, in one place, a cleared field. On the nineteenth it was announced that the enemy were in motion toward the American left. Here Arnold commanded, while Gates took charge of the right. It was the intention of the British to draw the Americans in that direction and then to make an assault on their centre, when thus weakened, and cut their way through to Albany. Gates designed to wait the

attack in his camp, but Arnold wished to hold the enemy in check, and not permit them to turn the American left. After much solicitation, he obtained permission from Gates to send Morgan with his riflemen to check the enemy. The riflemen soon met, and put to flight the advance-guard, but pursuing them with too much ardor, they came upon a strong column, and were themselves forced to fall back in confusion. Arnold now came to their aid with other regiments, and soon he was contending almost hand to hand with the entire British left wing. He sent repeatedly to Gates for reinforcements, which the latter refused to send, and excused himself on the ground that he would thus weaken his own wing; and Arnold, with only three thousand men, was left for four hours to sustain the attack. The severest conflict was around, and in the open field. The Americans were posted on the one side in a dense wood, where cannon could not be used; the British on the opposite side in a thin pine grove, where they could use their artillery. When the British would move into the field, the American riflemen would drive them back, and when the Americans became the pursuers, the British would sweep their ranks with their cannon. A dozen times this field was lost and won. The riflemen repeatedly took possession of the British artillery, but the roughness of the ground would not permit them to secure the guns; and before they could turn them, they themselves were driven off at the point of the bayonet. Night ended the contest; the Americans withdrew to their camp, and the British remained on the field of battle. The latter lost more than five hundred, while the Americans lost less than three hundred. They looked upon the result as a triumph; they had accomplished all they intended, and the enemy had failed in their designs.

Two days before the battle of Behmus' Heights, a

detachment of Lincoln's militia, under Colonel Brown, had seized the posts at the outlet of Lake George; also a fleet of bateaux laden with provisions for Burgoyne's army, and three hundred prisoners. The same party united with another, and laid siege to Ticonderoga.

Burgoyne's intercourse with Canada was thus cut off; his provisions were fast diminishing, and his horses were dying for want of forage. At this moment of darkness came a gleam of light—a note from Sir Henry Clinton—informing him that in a few days he would make an effort to ascend the Hudson. In hopes of maintaining his position until Clinton could relieve him, Burgoyne began to fortify his camp. For nearly three weeks the two armies watched each other. Almost every day advanced parties skirmished, but as Gates was deficient in ammunition, he hesitated to attack.

Meantime there was trouble in the American camp. The soldiers attributed the success of the late battle to the generalship of Arnold. But for some reason, jealousy perhaps, Gates removed him from his command.

Hearing nothing further from Clinton, Burgoyne resolved to risk a battle, and cut his way through the opposing force. He therefore sent a detachment of fifteen hundred picked men to take position within a mile of the American lines. A New Hampshire brigade attacked this division furiously, and Morgan, with his riflemen, managed to cut them off from their camp.

Arnold was in his tent, brooding over the treatment he had received, and had almost resolved to leave the army. Suddenly he heard the noise of battle; his ruling passion was instantly on fire. Mounting his horse, he rode with all speed to the scene of conflict. Gates, who saw him as he dashed away,

exclaimed: "He will do some rash thing," and sent after him orders, by Major Wilkinson, to return; but in vain,—Arnold heard only the roar of battle. He rushed into the thickest of the fight, cheered on the men, who answered him with shouts of recognition. To those looking on, he seemed insane. By his exertions the British lines were broken again and again, but as often General Frazer would rally his men and renew the conflict. Presently Frazer fell mortally wounded by one of Morgan's riflemen. The whole line gave way, abandoning their cannon, and with the greatest effort regained their camp. In spite of a shower of grape and musketry, the Americans rushed headlong to the assault. Arnold rode directly into a sally-port, where his horse was shot under him, and he himself was severely wounded—a ball had shattered his leg. His men now fell back. A regiment of Massachusetts men, more fortunate, forced their way through the German intrenchments, and maintained their position for the night, and secured a large amount of ammunition.

The Americans slept on their arms, intending to renew the contest in the morning. But when morning came, Burgoyne's army, drawn up in order of battle, appeared on the heights in the rear. During the night he had abandoned his sick and wounded, and skilfully led off his men. The next day he retreated to Saratoga, six miles distant. It was to cover this retreat that he ordered General Schuyler's mansion and extensive saw mills to be burned. That he might continue his retreat, he sent a party to repair the bridges toward Fort Edward, but they found the way occupied by the Americans, who had taken nearly all the boats laden with provisions for his army. All the passes by which he could extricate himself were in the hands of his enemy; cannon-balls and bullets fell almost every moment in his camp.



He had only three day's provisions; his effective force was reduced to four thousand men, and they were dispirited, worn out with hunger and fatigue. Not a word had he heard from Clinton, while the American army, already twelve thousand strong, was increasing daily.

Burgoyne now called a council of war, which resolved to open negotiations with General Gates. Having heard that Clinton, a few days previous, had succeeded in taking two of the forts on the Hudson, and that he might possibly reach Albany, Gates was disposed to make liberal terms. The conditions of the surrender were: That the British army should march out with the honors of war; that the soldiers should be taken to Boston, and thence to England; and they were not to serve against the United States until exchanged. The number of prisoners was about six thousand; the arms, artillery, and military stores were immense. The German regiments saved their colors; they took them off their staves, and concealed them among the baggage of the Baroness de Riedesel.<sup>1</sup> The British garrison of Ticonderoga evacuated that place and retired to Canada.

Congress refused to ratify the terms under which Burgoyne surrendered. His soldiers, if taken to England, would doubtless be placed in garrison, while those thus relieved would be sent to reinforce Clinton at New York. Only Burgoyne himself, with two attendants, was permitted to proceed to England, while the soldiers were retained as prisoners. The following year they were marched to Charlottesville, in Virginia, where they were quartered in log huts, and where the greater number of them remained till the close of the war.

<sup>1</sup>This lady accompanied her husband, Baron de Riedesel, during this campaign. She has left a thrilling narrative of the trying scenes at Saratoga.

As has been already stated, the garrisons in the Highlands were much weakened, by sending detachments both to the North and to the South. Sir Henry Clinton had received the long expected reinforcements from England, and he now proposed to force his way up the Hudson, in order to unite with Burgoyne. On the day before that general's last battle, Clinton attacked and captured the Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Though the New York militia turned out well, the forts could not be maintained. Governor George Clinton commanded. He sent to Putnam for aid, which he would have received had not the messenger turned traitor, and deserted to the enemy. Under the directions of Governor Tryon, Kingston, or Esopus, was burned. When these marauders heard that Burgoyne had surrendered they retreated, setting fire to every house within reach. This was about the very time that Burgoyne and his army were receiving liberal terms of capitulation.

General Gates, in transmitting his report of the surrender, did not send it to the Commander-in-chief, as was his duty, and as courtesy required, but sent it directly to Congress. The soldiers in the army attributed the success of the battles at Saratoga to the skilful management of Arnold and Morgan. Gates did not even mention their names in his full dispatches to Congress.

Soon after, General Schuyler insisted that his management of the Northern Department, previous to the appointment of Gates, should be investigated.

A Court of Inquiry was instituted, and he was not only acquitted of the charge of mismanagement of any kind, but with the highest honor. Though strongly urged by Congress to remain in the army, he declined. He had too much self-respect to continue in a position where he could be made a victim of unfriendly prejudice, yet too patriotic to relinquish his country's cause. Soon after he took his seat as a member of Congress.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

1778

### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

Sufferings at Valley Forge—England Disappointed; Conciliatory Measures of Parliament—The War Presses Hard Upon the American People—Difficulties and Jealousies in Congress—The “Conway Cabal”—Baron Steuben—Attempt to Increase the Army—Congress in Want of Funds—Exchange of Lee; His Treason—Treaty With France—Encouragements—British Commissioners—Philadelphia Evacuated—Battle of Monmouth—Misconduct of Lee—The French Fleet—Combined Attack Upon Newport Fails—Marauding Expeditions—A British Fleet—Massacre at Wyoming and Cherry Valley—Invasion of Georgia.

The surrender of Burgoyne revived the hopes of the Whigs and sent dismay into the ranks of the Tories. The American soldiers suffered intensely in their rude huts at Valley Forge. For days at a time without meat, and again without bread; no medicines for the sick, nor comfortable lodgings. Many of the soldiers were so deficient in clothes that they could not lie down, lest they should freeze to death, but were forced to sit round their camp-fires.

These were the men, few of whose names have ever reached us, but who clung to their country's cause in this hour of suffering, and who, in the day of battle, poured out their life's blood. They were, for the most part, the intelligent yeomanry of the land; from the farm, from the workshop, from the merchant's store; supporters of their own families, or sustainers of orphan brothers and sisters. What a contrast with the common soldiers of the invading army! They were, in part, the enlisted rabble of the British Isles. In their bosoms there was not a throb of generous feeling, nor with them was it a question in

what cause, or on what field they fought; and yet in the same army were others, even more degraded, drawn from "the shambles of petty German despots."

The king and ministry were sanguine their plans, so wisely laid, would be successfully carried out; that at the end of the campaign the American army would be broken and scattered; that they would have a line of posts extending from Lake Champlain to the Bay of New York. Instead of the realization of these hopes, intelligence came that Burgoyne had surrendered his entire army. The sensation produced in England was great indeed. Rumors stole into the country that France, their ancient enemy, was about to aid the Americans; that Holland was about to loan them money. England's pride was touched. Should she, who had made all Europe tremble, be baffled in her efforts to subdue her revolted colonists? A new spirit was awakened; many of the large commercial towns offered to raise regiments to supply the places of those surrendered at Saratoga, and present them to the king. Yet there were others, moved by compassion, and it may be by sympathy for the cause, who liberally subscribed money to relieve the wants of the American prisoners in England, whom the government had left to suffer for the necessities of life.

These sentiments had their effect on Parliament, and when it assembled, the friends of America renewed their assaults upon the policy of the king. They, from the first, had opposed the war as unjust, and had opposed the enlisting of Hessians; but more especially did they denounce the inhuman policy of employing savages to murder and scalp their brethren beyond the Atlantic. There were other causes of complaint. The merchants clamored for redress; the American trade was broken up; debts could not be collected; especially were they aggrieved that the

slave-trade had been reduced four-fifths. American cruisers had already seized nearly six hundred of their vessels. These cruisers swarmed to such an extent, even in the British seas, that it became necessary to convoy by armed ships merchant vessels from one port of the kingdom to another. More than twenty thousand men had perished in the war; more than a hundred millions of dollars had been expended; their expectations had been greatly raised, but as yet nothing was gained.

Lord North was constrained to bring in two bills, by which the king hoped to reconcile his American subjects. On this occasion, the former declared in the House that he himself had always been opposed to taxing the colonies. The king, in truth, was the prime mover and sustainer of the measure. One of these bills exempted the Americans from taxation, the other appointed commissioners to negotiate with them, for the purpose of restoring the royal authority. Thus was yielded, but ungraciously, the whole ground of the contest.

The moment the French government heard of the passage of these bills, it proposed to acknowledge the Independence of the United States, and to make with them a treaty offensive and defensive. That the belligerents should fight and weaken each other, France was willing, but rather than they should become reconciled, she declared for the Americans.

Though the war had cost England much, it had cost the Americans more. In many portions of the country, their ruthless invaders had laid waste their cultivated fields; in other portions they were unsown, because the husbandmen were in the army; property was wasting away; debts were accumulating with no prospect of payment. The Bills of Credit issued by Congress were almost worthless. As with individuals, so with the State; both were bankrupt. On the



sea-board, foreign commerce, the coasting trade, and the fisheries were carried on at such risks as to be almost annihilated. Nine hundred vessels had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The loss of life had been great; not so many had perished on the field of battle, but disease, the deficiency of necessary comforts in hospitals, the want of clothes and of wholesome food, had as effectively done the work of death. Multitudes died miserably, either in the jails and loathsome prison-ships of the enemy, or contracted diseases which clung to them through life. These calamities, instead of depressing the patriots, roused their indignant spirits to more determination. They would listen to no terms of reconciliation with England, short of absolute independence.

Congress was embarrassed more and more. That noble spirit of conciliation and mutual forbearance which distinguished the members of the Old Congress was not so prominent. Many of the ablest members had retired to take part in the recently organized governments of their own States, or to attend to their private affairs, lest their families should come to want; and some had been sent on foreign missions, and some were in the army.

There were other difficulties; jealousies between northern and southern men still existed in the army, and jealousies between American officers and some of those of foreign birth. Congress, now numbering not more than twenty or thirty members, manifested an undue prejudice against the army, because the officers and soldiers earnestly urged that their wants should be supplied. Washington protested against this spirit, and showed the unreasonableness of such a prejudice. After remarking that in other countries the army was looked upon with suspicion in time of peace, he adds: "It is our policy to be prejudiced against them (the troops) in time of war;

though they are citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens.' In violation of military usage, and contrary to his advice, Congress made several promotions in the army which not only slighted but wronged some of its best and bravest officers.

While Washington labored at Valley Forge to keep the army together, and to prevent its disbanding from sheer necessity, a few were intriguing to remove him from the command. Some members of Congress, a few officers, and perhaps some others joined in what was known as the "Conway Cabal," a name derived from the Irish adventurer already mentioned, who, if not the prime mover in the plot, was a pliant tool of others. The whole truth on the subject can never be fully known, as each actor ever after desired to conceal the part he had taken in the affair. By means of anonymous letters, underhand appeals, designed to seduce the officers of the army, and other dishonorable measures, the attempt was made to defame Washington; to draw invidious comparisons between his military successes and those of Gates; and to destroy that confidence which the people and soldiers reposed in his integrity. They dared not attack him openly, but by these means they hoped to disgust him with his office and induce him to resign; and General Gates, their hero, would receive the appointment of Commander-in-chief. Thus the intrigue was carried on for months. General Mifflin, and Gates himself were prominent in the scheme, but their efforts to win over Lafayette signally failed. Anonymous letters were sent to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and to Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia; but these high-minded men forwarded them at once to the Commander-in-chief. Washington himself, though he knew to some extent of the existence of these plots, never publicly noticed them, nor turned aside a moment from his great work. He

was only anxious lest the enemy should learn of these dissensions. But when it was proposed in Congress to appoint Conway inspector of the army he remonstrated, and in writing to Richard Henry Lee, then a member, he says: "General Conway's merit as an officer and his importance in this army exist more in his own imagination than in reality." Yet Congress, under the influence of the Cabal, appointed Conway "Inspector of the Armies of the United States!"—with the rank of Major-general.

Ere long intelligence of these intrigues stole abroad. So great was the indignation which burst forth from the officers and soldiers, from the Legislatures of the States, and from the people themselves, that the Cabal cowered before it.

The effect of this abortive attempt to remove Washington from the chief command was only to strengthen his hold on the confidence of the nation. The invidious comparisons made between his successes and those of Gates were unjust, but that some persons should be influenced by them is not strange. "The Washington of that day was not Washington as we know him, tried and proved by twenty years of the most disinterested and most successful public services." The capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga was due to his plan of defense, as concerted with Schuyler, and not to General Gates. In his effort to save Philadelphia he was surrounded with almost insurmountable difficulties. His army, ill-equipped and imperfectly disciplined, was smaller than that of Howe's; the scene of operation was in a region filled with Tories, who gave every facility to the British. He says himself: "Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighboring States, as the States of New York and New England, we might have had General Howe nearly in the same situation of General Burgoyne."

We may here anticipate. Conway found his position unenviable, and he sent to Congress a note complaining that he had been ill-treated, and intimated that he would resign because he was ordered to the Northern Department. His self-complacency never doubted but he would be urged to remain as "Inspector." But Congress, ashamed of having ever appointed him, interpreted it as a resignation, and gladly accepted it. No explanation of Conway, though urged in person, could induce them to change their decision. Some time afterward he was wounded in a duel with General Cadwallader, who had charged him with cowardice at the battle of Germantown, and also of derogatory remarks in relation to the Commander-in-chief. When he thought himself near death, Conway wrote to Washington: "You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." He recovered from his wound, and soon after he left the country.

During the winter at Valley Forge every effort was made to increase the army and make it more efficient. To accomplish this end, Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer of great merit as a disciplinarian, was appointed Inspector, with the rank of Major-general. Congress called upon all the States, except Georgia and South Carolina, for their quotas of men to the Continental army. These States were excused, except for local defense, in consideration of their large slave population. Several independent bodies of horse were raised by Count Pulaski and Henry Lee, who, because of his success and genius as a commander of light-horse, was known in the army as Light-Horse Harry.

Baron Steuben soon infused his own spirit into the officers and men. He was prompt, and they obeyed

him with alacrity. The tactics were taught by system, and the result was very gratifying. Congress designed to raise the army to sixty thousand, but it really never reached more than half that number. Many of the more experienced officers were compelled by necessity to resign; their families were dependent upon them, and they received scarcely any pay. These resignations were unfortunate. Washington appealed to Congress in behalf of the officers and also of the soldiers. That body promised half pay for seven years to those officers who should serve to the end of the war, and to the soldiers thus serving a gratuity of eighty dollars. But the treasury was empty; new bills of credit were issued, and the several States were called upon to levy taxes for the public expenses; but the States were poor, and some of them were negligent. Their bills of credit continued to lose their value; and, to increase the evil, the British and Tories flooded the country with counterfeits. The depreciation became so great that a pair of boots cost more than seven hundred dollars in some of these bills of credit. Yet it shows the patriotism of the great mass of the people that, at this time of despondency and distress, the British, with their promises of gold and protection, could induce only three thousand five hundred Tories to enlist in their army.

The office of quartermaster had been held during the last campaign by Mifflin; but he was seldom at his post, and the department was in great confusion. Many difficulties had grown out of this neglect; the army was irregularly supplied with provisions and forage, while the country people suffered much on account of the demands made upon them for provisions by unauthorized foraging parties. At the urgent request of Washington, Congress appointed General Greene quartermaster. He assumed the



duties of the office, so irksome to him, for one year, but without compensation. The system with which Greene performed all his duties was soon apparent; the army was regularly furnished with provisions and ammunition, so that it could be ready to march at a few minutes' notice.

General Lee was returned to the army in exchange for General Prescott. Lee was as selfish as he was destitute of the true nobleness of a man of honor. In a document in his own handwriting, written when a prisoner in New York, dated "March 29, 1777," and endorsed by Lord and Sir William Howe as "Mr. Lee's plan," may be found the evidence of his willingness to ruin the cause of American Independence. In this elaborate plan he urged with great earnestness upon the British ministry to send a large force; part of which to take position at Alexandria, on the Potomac, and part at Annapolis, on the Chesapeake. Thus to separate the Northern and Southern colonies and prevent them from aiding each other, while to oppose Burgoyne's advance would require all the force that New England could raise. He was willing to forfeit his life if the measure did not speedily terminate the war and dissolve the "Congress Government."

For some reason the ministry did not adopt Lee's suggestion, and the document was filed away among British state papers, to bear testimony to the dishonesty of the author three-quarters of a century after his death.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring, Sir William Howe, after complaining that his government did not furnish him a sufficiency of men and supplies, resigned his command, and Sir Henry Clinton was appointed his successor. With the exception of foraging parties, the British as yet made no military movements. About this time came intelligence of the passage of Lord North's

<sup>1</sup>"Treason of General Charles Lee," by George H. Moore, Esq.

conciliatory bills, and that the commissioners would soon be on their way to open negotiations. The substance of these bills was circulated very extensively by zealous Tories. Congress ordered them to be printed in the newspapers, accompanied by a severe criticism furnished by a committee of the House.

Presently came the news that France had acknowledged the independence of the States, and had entered into a treaty with them of commerce and defense. The light had dawned upon the American cause! A thrill of joy went throughout the land.

The treaty between the United States and France produced a great sensation in England. It is madness to protract the war! said the friends of America. Let us acknowledge the independence of the States and obtain their good will by liberal terms of commerce, lest our great rival win them to herself. But no! the idea was scouted; the war must be prosecuted, blood must still flow.

In June came the commissioners to treat under Lord North's conciliatory bills. They were the Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, brother of the late governor of Maryland, and George Johnstone, formerly governor of Florida, and who had been a friend of the Americans in Parliament.

The commissioners sent their proposals to Congress, but that body refused to treat until the independence of the States was acknowledged and the British troops withdrawn. As the commissioners could not grant these demands, negotiations were not commenced. Some of the commissioners indirectly resorted to bribery, and by means of a loyalist lady of Philadelphia, made propositions to General Joseph Reed, of ten thousand pounds and any office in the colonies he might choose if he would aid the object of the mission. To which offer he made this memorable reply: "I am not worth purchasing, but such

as I am, the king of England is not rich enough to buy me."

When it was known that a French fleet was expected on the coast, the British hastened to evacuate Philadelphia and retreat to New York. Most of the stores, together with the sick and wounded, were sent round by water, while the army, twelve thousand strong, took up its line of march across New Jersey. Washington was soon in pursuit. The weather was excessively warm, and the heavily armed British moved very slowly. The Americans soon came up. A council of war was held, and the question discussed, whether to attack the enemy and bring on a general engagement, or merely harass them on their march. Washington, with Greene and Lafayette, was in favor of the former manner of attack, and Lee, for some reason, strenuously advocated the latter. When it was decided to bring on a general engagement, Lee, as his advice had not been taken, declined to take any command in the affair.

Washington therefore sent Lafayette forward with two thousand men, to take position on the hills, and thus crowd Sir Henry Clinton off into the plain. The next morning Lee had changed his mind, and asked to be given a command. Washington sent him forward with two brigades, and when he came up with Lafayette, being of superior rank, he assumed the command of the entire advance division.

The British encamped near Monmouth Court house. There were morasses and groves of woods in the vicinity, a difficult place in which to maneuver troops.

When Lee advanced, he found a force of apparently about two thousand on the march, but a portion of the woods obstructed a full view. He made his arrangements to cut off this force, and sent word of his movements to Washington. But when he came upon

the division, he found it much stronger than he anticipated—in truth, Clinton had thrown this strong force of German and British there for the express purpose of giving the Americans a severe check.

The battle had scarcely begun, before occurred a misapprehension of orders. The Americans began to retreat, and Lee, in the hurry of the moment, forgot to send word of the movement to Washington, who was advancing with the main body to his support. The retreat had passed into almost a flight. When Washington met the troops he inquired why they were retreating. The reply was, they did not know, but they had received the order. Suspecting that this movement was designed to mar the plan of attack, he spurred on, and presently met Lee, of whom he demanded, in a stern manner: "What is the meaning of all this, sir?" Lee, disconcerted, hesitated for a moment to reply, and was asked again. He then began to explain that the confusion had arisen from disobedience of orders, and, moreover, he did not wish to meet the whole British army. Washington rejoined, "that he understood it was a mere covering party," adding: "I am very sorry that you undertook the command unless you meant to fight the enemy." Lee replied that he did not think it prudent to bring on a general engagement. "Whatever your opinion may have been," replied Washington disdainfully, "I expect my orders to be obeyed." This conversation took but a moment.

Washington hastily formed the men on a rising ground. The enemy came up in force, and other divisions of the Americans also mingled in the conflict. Night ended the battle. The Americans slept upon their arms, expecting to renew the contest in the morning. But Clinton skilfully drew off his army during the night, and at daylight was far on his way. Washington did not attempt to pursue, as the

weather was intolerably warm, and the march through a sandy region, destitute of water. The Americans lost altogether about two hundred, many of them on account of the extreme heat: the British lost three hundred in the battle, and on the march two thousand Hessians deserted.

After refreshing his men, Washington marched across New Jersey, passed the Hudson, and took position at White Plains, to be ready to co-operate with the French fleet in an attack upon New York. Lord Howe had scarcely left the Delaware when Count D'Estaing appeared with a squadron. While at sea, D'Estaing communicated with Washington by letter. Finding that the British had evacuated Philadelphia, he put to sea, and soon anchored off Sandy Hook.

The day after the battle, Lee wrote a note, disrespectful in its tone, to Washington, who replied; and this produced another note from Lee, still more offensive, demanding a court of inquiry, and in the meantime intimating that he should retire from the army. The court found him guilty of disobedience of orders and disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, and sentenced him to be suspended for one year from the army. He retired to his estate in Virginia, and there beguiled his leisure in writing scurrilous letters concerning the army and its commander. When this sentence of suspension was about to expire, he, for some fancied neglect, wrote an insolent letter to Congress. That body immediately dismissed him from the army. Thus ended the military career of General Charles Lee. A few years afterward he died in Philadelphia. His life had been that of the soldier; and in the delirium of death he murmured, "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!"

The French fleet brought Monsieur Gerard as ambassador to the United States, and also Silas Deane, Doctor Franklin and Arthur Lee, with whom, on the



part of the United States, the treaty had been made.

Howe ran his ships within the bay of New York, and as the large vessels of the French could not pass the bar at Sandy Hook, the combined attack upon the city was abandoned. Instead, it was resolved to make an attack upon Newport, on the island of Rhode Island. This was a British stronghold and depot, and garrisoned by six thousand men under General Pigot. The brutality of these British troops had excited against them the bitterest hatred, and when called upon by General Sullivan, who was in command, thousands of the militia of the surrounding country flocked to avenge their wrongs. John Hancock, on this occasion, led the Massachusetts militia, as general. D'Estaing sailed to Newport, where he arrived a week before the force sent by Washington under Greene and Lafayette. This unavoidable delay ruined the enterprise. When the Americans appeared, the British guard left the works on the north end of the island and retired to their inner lines. The Americans immediately passed over and occupied the abandoned works. The very day of this occupancy, Lord Howe appeared with a fleet, and D'Estaing went out to give him battle. They both maneuvered their fleets to obtain the advantage of position, when a terrible storm arose and separated them.

In the meantime the Americans moved near the enemy's works, and commenced to cannonade them, expecting that the French fleet would soon return to their aid. D'Estaing did return, but instead of landing the four thousand troops on board, he set sail for Boston to refit his vessels, which the late storm had shattered.

The Americans now abandoned their lines, and by night retreated, repulsing the division of the enemy sent in pursuit. It was time, for the British were

strongly reinforced from New York by four thousand troops, under Clinton himself.

To deceive the enemy, and escape safely from the island, Sullivan sent a party to occupy a hill in sight of the British lines. The party began to throw up intrenchments, and in the evening pitched their tents; but as soon as it was night they silently decamped, and in the morning were all safely on the main land.

A great clamor arose because D'Estaing failed to co-operate with the Americans at Newport. Subsequent investigation seemed to justify him; at least, Congress passed a resolution approving his conduct. This may, however, have been mere policy, as Congress was unwilling to offend the French by passing a vote of censure.

The war degenerated into marauding expeditions against defenseless villages. The first object of this barbarity was the island of Martha's Vineyard, whose inhabitants were stripped of everything the robbers could carry off. The towns of New Bedford and Fair Haven were wantonly burned, and also seventy vessels in their ports. Scenes of cruelty were enacted in New Jersey, where an American regiment of horse was cut to pieces, and a company of infantry, when crying for quarter, was butchered with the bayonet without mercy.

When it was certainly known that a French fleet had sailed to the United States, the English ministry sent Admiral Byron in pursuit. He appeared off Boston harbor while the French were refitting, but did not dare attack them, and the French were unwilling to come out of their place of security. Lord Howe resigned his command into the hands of Admiral Byron. At length a storm arose which scattered the English fleet; then the French slipped out of the harbor, and sailed to the West Indies. On the same

day, five thousand British troops sailed from New York for the same destination. Three weeks after another expedition of three thousand sailed for Georgia; yet the British army remaining was far more numerous than the forces under Washington.

During the summer, one of the most atrocious outrages which disgraced the war was committed upon the settlement at Wyoming, situated in a beautiful valley on the Susquehanna. There had been previously much contention among the inhabitants, some of whom were Tories. These had been seized, and sent out of the settlement; they took their revenge with more than savage ferocity.

After the defeat of St. Leger at Fort Schuyler, Fort Niagara became the headquarters of Tories and Indians; at that place was planned the murderous expedition. The party was guided by Tories who had lived in the valley. The chief leader in this expedition was John Butler, a Tory notorious for his cruelty. His force, about eleven hundred, was composed of his Rangers, Johnson's Greens, and Mohawks. There were block-houses in the settlement; to these the people fled in times of danger. Nearly all the able-bodied men were absent in the army under Washington. There were left only the women and children, the aged and infirm. Suddenly the savage enemy appeared at various points in the valley, and commenced murdering the husbandmen in the fields, and burning the houses. It had been rumored that such an attack was meditated, and a small force had already been dispatched by Washington to defend the settlement. They had themselves, under Zebulon Butler (no relation of John Butler), about three hundred and fifty men. Unfortunately, Butler did not wait the arrival of the reinforcement, but sallied forth to restrain the ravaging of the country. Intelligence of this intended attack was conveyed to

the enemy, and they were fully prepared. The fight began, and the Tories were forced to give way, but the Indians passed round a swamp toward the rear. Butler, seeing this movement, ordered his men to fall back, lest they should be surrounded. This order was mistaken for one to retreat; all was thrown into confusion, and a portion, panic-stricken, fled. They were pursued by the Tories and Indians with unrelenting fury. The whole valley was desolated. Those of the people who escaped, fled to the mountains, and there women and children perished by hundreds, while some, after incredible sufferings, reached the settlements.

A month later, similar scenes were witnessed at Cherry Valley, in New York. The Tories and Indians were equally as cruel as at the Wyoming massacre. The people were either murdered or carried into captivity. All the region of the upper Susquehanna, the Delaware, and the Mohawk, was at the mercy of the savages.

In the latter part of November, Clinton sent Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, to invade Georgia. He landed three miles below Savannah, the capital, on the twenty-ninth of December.

General Robert Howe, who was in command, could make but little resistance. He and his men behaved nobly, but a negro guiding the British by a path through a swamp, they gained the rear of the Americans, who were now thrown into confusion and defeated. The town of Savannah fell into the hands of the victors.

General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was ordered by Clinton to pass across to Savannah, and there join Campbell and assume the command. On his march, Prevost took Sunbury, a fort of some importance. Arriving at Savannah, he sent Campbell to take possession of Augusta. Thus was

Georgia subdued, in the space of a few weeks. The British now transferred their active operations to the South, which became the principal theatre of the war till its close.

General Benjamin Lincoln, who had been appointed to take command of the Southern Department, arrived about this time. The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia had solicited his appointment.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

1779

### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

Dissensions in Congress—Expedition Against the Indians—The War in the South—Augusta Reoccupied—Charleston Threatened—Marauding Expeditions Sent to Virginia, and up the Hudson—Tryon Ravages Connecticut—Capture of Stony Point by Wayne—Lee Surprises the Garrison at Jersey City—Combined Assault Upon Savannah—Daniel Boone; Kentucky—George Rogers Clarke; Kaskaskia—Pioneers of Tennessee; Nashville—John Paul Jones.

The American army was distributed, at the end of the year, in a series of cantonments, which extended from the east end of Long Island to the Delaware; thus effectually enclosing the British forces. The head-quarters were in a central position at Middlebrook, New Jersey. The British were so strong at New York and Newport, that to attack them with success was hopeless. The French fleet had been of no practical use to the Americans, and now Count D'Estaing took with him his land troops to the West Indies.

Four years had passed since the war commenced; the finances of the country were still in a wretched condition. The enemy held important places, and were watching for opportunities to pillage. In the South, the Tories were specially active. Yet there were other elements at work, more injurious to the cause than even these.

Congress was filled with dissensions. The prospect of assistance from France caused many to relax their efforts, as though the war was virtually ended. Washington wrote, at the beginning of the year:

"Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous, and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war." A large majority of Congress was carried away with the scheme of joining with the French in an expedition against Canada. But when the matter was laid before the Commander-in-chief, at a glance he saw the difficulties of the undertaking, and, with the comprehensive views of the true statesman, pointed out the disadvantages of having, on this continent, a power different in nation, in religion, and in customs from the Americans. Moreover, he desired the people of the United States to be as little under obligations as possible to other nations.

For the ensuing campaign, it was evident the British intended to confine themselves to pillaging expeditions, and to cripple the Union in the South. Washington now recommended an expedition against the Indians, to punish them for their outrages at Wyoming and other places. It was to be conducted on their own plan—to invade and lay waste their territory.

In April a body of troops suddenly invaded and desolated the territory of the Onondagas. The principal expedition, under Sullivan, went against the Senecas, to revenge their attack on Wyoming. With five thousand men he penetrated their country, met them under Brant, with their worthy allies, the Tories, Johnson and Butler, at Newton, now Elmira, and completely routed them. Without giving them time to recover from their panic, Sullivan pursued them into the valley of the Genesee, and in a few weeks destroyed more than forty of their villages, all their cornfields, gardens, and orchards. It was a terrible vengeance; but the only means to prevent their depredations on the settlements.

Want of food compelled the Indians and Tories to emigrate to Canada, yet they soon after renewed

their depredations, and continued them, with their usual ferocity, till the end of the war. In the meanwhile, another successful expedition was conducted against the Indian towns on the Alleghany, above Pittsburgh.

As in the North, so in the South, the British entered into alliances with the Indians—there they induced the Creeks to join them. The Tories desolated the upper part of Georgia; but as they drew near Augusta, Colonel Pickens suddenly attacked and routed them. Seventy-five were made prisoners and condemned to death, as traitors; however, only five were executed.

The next month, General Lincoln sent General Ashe, with two thousand men, to drive Campbell from Augusta. Campbell, hearing of his approach, retreated in haste, and Ashe pursued, but was himself surprised, some days after, and his entire force dispersed. The British now reoccupied Augusta, and opened a communication with the Cherokees and the South Carolina Tories.

While Lincoln recruited his army, Prevost marched slowly in the direction of Charleston; and Lincoln hastened to the aid of that city. The inhabitants were indefatigable in their exertions to give the foe a warm reception. They threw up intrenchments across the neck of the peninsula, on which their city stood. Presently, Prevost arrived and summoned them to surrender, but they boldly refused.

He prepared to enter upon a regular siege, but hearing of the approach of Lincoln, he first ravaged the plantations in the vicinity, carried off an immense amount of plunder, and three or four thousand slaves, and then retreated toward Savannah, by way of the islands along the coast. As the hot season approached, hostilities ceased.

While these events were in progress in the South, Clinton was fulfilling his instructions from the ministry to send out plundering expeditions. One of these, under General Mathews, he sent from New York, with twenty-five hundred men, into Virginia. The fleet entered the Chesapeake, the troops landed, and plundered the towns of Portsmouth and Norfolk. A little higher up, at Gosport, was established a navy-yard by the State; there they burned one hundred and thirty merchant ships, and several war-vessels on the stocks. The facilities afforded the enemy by the rivers to pass from point to point, and the danger of the slaves rising, prevented much resistance.

When these soldiers returned, Clinton went up the Hudson, against the posts Verplanck's and Stony Points. These forts protected King's Ferry, a very important crossing-place, on the main road from the eastern to the middle States. The works at Stony Point—not yet finished—were abandoned; and the garrison at Verplanck's Point were forced to surrender.

The next expedition, of twenty-five hundred men, was under Tryon, whose barbarities, on such occasions, have justly rendered his name infamous. Tryon plundered New Haven, and burned Fairfield and Norwalk. In the course of a few days he burned two hundred and twenty-five private dwellings, half as many barns and stores, and five places of worship. Many of the inhabitants were murdered or subjected to the brutal passions of the soldiers: This "journeyman of desolation," so insensible to the promptings of humanity, contemplated these outrages with pleasure, and afterward even claimed for himself the honor of having exercised mercy, because he did not burn every dwelling on the coast of New England.

Clinton had been grossly deceived by the Tories.

who assured him that the principal inhabitants of Connecticut were so dissatisfied because their homes were not protected by the American army, that they were about to withdraw from the cause, and put themselves under British protection. And it was thought a few more such expeditions would accomplish this result.

Washington now devised a plan to recapture Stony Point. The fort was so situated, that to surprise it seemed an impossibility. He proposed to General Wayne—"Mad Anthony"—to undertake the desperate enterprise. The proposal was accepted with delight. Washington himself, accompanied by Wayne, carefully reconnoitred the Point. The attempt was to be made at the hour of midnight. Every precaution to secure success was taken, even the dogs of the neighborhood were privately destroyed. A negro, accompanied by two soldiers, disguised as farmers, approached the outer sentinel and gave the countersign. The sentinel was seized and gagged, and the second treated in the same manner; at the third, the alarm was given, but the impetuosity of the Americans was so great, that in a few minutes the two divisions from the opposite sides of the fort met in the center. They took more than five hundred prisoners. This was one of the most brilliant exploits of the war. How great was the contrast between the humanity of Wayne and the savage cruelty of the British in their midnight attacks with the bayonet! Stedman, the British historian, records that "the conduct of the Americans upon this occasion was highly meritorious, for they would have been fully justified in putting the garrison to the sword; not one man of which was put to death but in fair combat." When Clinton heard of the taking of Stony Point, he hastily recalled Tryon, who was about to move against New London.



The exploit of Wayne was speedily followed by another daring adventure by Light Horse Harry. He had learned by reconnoitring, and by means of spies, the exact condition of the garrison at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, opposite New York. Thinking themselves secure from attack, because of their nearness to the main army, the officers, as well as men, were careless. Lee asked permission to strike a blow within "cannon-shot of New York." Washington directed him "to surprise the fort, bring off the garrison immediately, and effect a retreat," and not to linger, lest he should himself be overpowered. About two o'clock in the morning they made themselves masters of the fort, and secured one hundred and fifty prisoners, with a loss to themselves of only two men. Soon alarm guns roused the garrison in New York, and Lee commenced his retreat. The exploit redounded much to his credit, and that of his company of horse. In compliment, Congress voted Wayne, as well as Lee, a gold medal.

An effort was again made to take Savannah. Count D'Estaing appeared with his fleet from the West Indies, and General Lincoln marched to aid in the siege. Several North Carolina regiments had been sent by the Commander-in-chief, and the militia turned out well. Prevost made every exertion to defend himself. But D'Estaing soon grew impatient; he must return to the West Indies lest the British fleet might accomplish some enterprise of importance. The siege must be either abandoned, or the town taken by assault. The latter was resolved upon; and it was undertaken with great disadvantages staring the assailants in the face. After they had carried some of the outworks, the Americans were forced to retire. Count Pulaski, when gallantly leading his men, was mortally wounded. The French, who were at the post of the greatest danger, were also repulsed, and

D'Estaing himself was wounded. Lincoln now retreated to Charleston, disbanded the militia, and the Count sailed to the West Indies. Thus, for the second time, the French, under the same officer, failed to co-operate efficiently with the Americans. Very great dissatisfaction was excited at this throughout the country.

Clinton obeyed his instructions from home, evacuated Newport, and concentrated his main force at New York, which place he thought in danger of a combined attack from the Americans and French. In truth, Washington, in expectation of such aid, had called out the militia for that purpose, but when he heard that the French had sailed for the West Indies, he dismissed them, and went into winter quarters near Morristown, New Jersey.

When the coast was clear, Clinton sent seven thousand men by sea to Savannah, and soon after sailed himself with two thousand more, leaving a powerful garrison in New York, under the command of Knyp-hausen.

Some days before the commencement of the war, Daniel Boone, the bold hunter and pioneer, had visited the region of Kentucky. Attracted by the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the forests, and the mildness of the climate, in connection with others he formed a settlement on the Kentucky river. Thither Boone took his wife and daughters, the first white women in that region. There, during the war, these bold pioneers were in perils, fighting the Indians and levelling the forests. Harrod, another bold backwoodsman, founded Harrodsburg. The territory on the lower Kentucky had been purchased of the Cherokees. Though Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, denounced the purchase as illegal, yet in spite of his proclamation, and the hostility of the Indians, the

people, in numbers, emigrated to that delightful region.

The Indians at the West were becoming hostile under the influence of British emissaries. The principal actor in this was Hamilton, the commandant at Detroit, against which place Congress resolved to send an expedition. While this was under consideration, George Rogers Clarke, an adventurous Virginian, set out from Pittsburgh on an expedition against Kaskaskia, an old French town on the Mississippi. Clarke, though a backwoodsman of Kentucky, acted under the authority of Virginia. With two hundred men he floated in boats down the Ohio to the Falls, and there, on an island, thirteen families, his followers, made a settlement. Joined by some Kentuckians, he proceeded down the river, to near its mouth. Then hiding his canoes, the company struck through the woods to Kaskaskia. This town was claimed by the English since the surrender of Canada. The inhabitants were at once conciliated when they heard of the alliance between the United States and France, and when they saw their religion respected and their property protected. Clarke also entered into friendly relations with the Spaniards west of the Mississippi at St. Louis. When he returned to the Falls, he built a stockade fort on the south side of the Ohio; this was the germ of the present city of Louisville. Virginia claimed the region north of the Ohio, as conquered territory, erected it into the county of Illinois, and made arrangements to keep possession of it.

Other bold pioneers were, about the same time, penetrating the wilderness further south. James Robertson, from North Carolina, who, eleven years before, led immigrants to settle on the head-waters of the Tennessee, now, with a company, crossed over into the valley of the Cumberland. They passed

down that river till they found a desirable location, a bluff on its south shore. The company altogether amounted to nearly fifty persons. There, in the midst of the primeval forest, more than a hundred miles from the nearest settlement, they cleared some land and planted corn. Three of their number remained to guard the growing crop, and the others returned to bring their families. Emigration now began: one party set out through the wilderness, driving their cattle before them; another, with the women and children, went on board of boats, on the head-waters of the Tennessee. They were to pass down that river to its mouth, thence find their way up the Cumberland to the chosen spot. A laborious journey of more than six months brought them to their anxious friends. The settlement increased with great rapidity, notwithstanding the hostility of the Indians. Such were the beginnings of the now prosperous and beautiful city of Nashville.

Congress, from time to time, made efforts to increase the Continental navy, but many of the vessels had been lost. The privateers had aroused the ire and the vigilance of the entire British navy. Yet some American cruisers, fitted out in France, fearlessly sailed in quest of the enemy. The most distinguished of these commanders was John Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, but who had been brought to Virginia in childhood. He was one of the first officers commissioned by Congress for the navy. Jones, in command of the *Ranger*, of eighteen guns, spread terror around England, and even made a descent on the coast of Scotland.

A small squadron of five French and American ships was fitted out at Lorient, and placed under his command, to cruise in the British seas. Off the coast of Scotland, he met with a fleet of merchantmen, convoyed by a frigate and another armed vessel. It was

night, and the battle, the most desperate in the annals of naval warfare, lasted three hours. Jones lashed his flag-ship, the *Richard*, to the British frigate *Serapis*, and thus, muzzle to muzzle, they poured into each other their broadsides. At length, both the English ships surrendered. Jones' flag-ship was so damaged, that in a few hours it went to the bottom.



## CHAPTER XXXVI.

1780

### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

Hardships of the Soldiers—British Success at the South—Colonel Tarleton—Charleston Capitulates—Defeat at Waxhaw—Rev. James Caldwell—Maraud Into Jersey—Fleet at Newport—The South Unsubdued—Her Partisan Leaders—Gates Sent to Take Command—Disastrous Battle of Camden—Death of De Kalb—Sumter's Success and Defeat—Treason of Arnold—Major André—Movements of Cornwallis—Colonel Ferguson—Battle of King's Mountain—Tarleton Repulsed—General Greene in Command—Rancorous Spirit Between the Whigs and Tories—British Triumphant—Affairs in Europe—Henry Laurens—Dangers of England; Her Energy.

This winter, like the preceding, witnessed the hardships of the soldiers, who were often in great straits for provisions, and other necessities. The depreciation of the currency continued; Congress was in debt, without money and without credit. To preserve the soldiers from starvation, Washington was under, to him, the painful necessity of levying contributions upon the people of the surrounding country. Jersey was drained almost to exhaustion; but her patriotism rose in proportion to her sacrifices; at one time, when deep snows cut off supplies from a distance, the subsistence of the whole army devolved upon her. "The women met together to knit and sew for the soldiery," and the farmers hastened to the camp with provisions, "stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets."

A committee sent by Congress to inquire into the condition of affairs at Morristown, reported: "That the army was five months unpaid; that it seldom had more than six days' provisions in advance, and was,

on several occasions, for sundry successive days, without meat; was destitute of forage; that the medical department had neither sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spirits." No other principle than true patriotism could have held men together in the midst of privations and sufferings such as these. In preparation for the ensuing campaign, Congress made great exertions to increase the army; large bounties were offered, yet recruits came in slowly.

The winter was exceedingly severe. The waters around New York were frozen, communication with the sea was cut off, so that the garrison and the citizens suffered for provisions. Knyphausen was alarmed lest the Americans should pass on the ice and attack the city; his ships of war were frozen fast, and no longer useful to defend it. He transferred the seamen to the shore, and formed them into companies, and placed the entire male population under arms. But his apprehensions were groundless, as Washington was too deficient in men and means to make a successful attack upon the garrison.

In the South, the British were very successful. When Clinton arrived at Savannah, he immediately went North for the purpose of blockading Charleston. General Lincoln made every exertion to fortify the city. Four thousand of its militia enrolled themselves; but the assistance received from the surrounding country numbered only two hundred men. South Carolina had represented to Congress her utter inability to defend herself, "by reason of the great number of citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and their desertion to the enemy." The only hope of Charleston lay in the regiments then on their march from Virginia and North Carolina. These regiments increased Lincoln's force to seven thousand, only two thousand of whom were continentals.

The British occupied so much time in their approach, that an opportunity was given to fortify the harbor and city. It was of no avail; the superior English fleet passed by Fort Moultrie without receiving much damage, though four years before the same fort had repulsed a similar attempt. The channel, at this time, was deeper, and the vessels could pass.

Sir Henry Clinton had lost nearly all his horses on the voyage; but he had with him Lieutenant-colonel Banastre Tarleton, a native of Liverpool. Let us take a glance at the colonel, who figures so largely in these southern campaigns. He was at this time only twenty-six years of age. He is described as short of stature, broad shouldered and muscular, of swarthy complexion, with a countenance lighted up by small, keen black eyes, the embodiment of ardent, prompt energy, and indomitable perseverance, that never pursued without overtaking; always in front of his men; as insensible to weariness as he was to fear. To be scrupulous was not one of his virtues. He soon, from friends or enemies, by money or by force, obtained horses for his dragoons.

Thirty miles from Charleston, at Monk's Corner, General Huger and Colonel William Washington had two regiments of continental cavalry to guard the passes to the north country. On a dark night, Tarleton, guided by a negro, pounced upon them with his dragoons, and scattered them. Huger and Washington escaped, with some of their officers and men, but Tarleton took a hundred prisoners, and four hundred wagons laden with stores. Fort Moultrie surrendered, and soon after another division of American cavalry was almost annihilated by Tarleton, and Charleston was now completely invested.

As the defenses of the town continued to fail in succession, Lincoln thought to abandon the place, and

force his way through the enemy; but the superiority of the besiegers in number and position rendered that impossible. The British fleet was ready to pour ruin upon the devoted town. Clinton had thrown up intrenchments across the neck, and at this crisis Cornwallis arrived from New York with three thousand fresh troops.

On the ninth of May commenced a terrible cannonade from two hundred cannons. All night long bombshells poured upon the town, which at one time was on fire in five different places. The morning dawned, but no hope dawned for the besieged. Their guns were nearly all dismounted, their works in ruins, the soldiers exhausted by fatigue. The fleet moved to a position much nearer. The following night an offer to capitulate was sent to Clinton. Negotiations commenced, which resulted in the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war; the militia were to be dismissed on their parole, not to engage again in the war; with the promise, that so long as they kept their parole, their persons and property should be secure. The whole number of prisoners was about six thousand.

This was an irreparable loss to the patriots. Immediately after Clinton sent off three expeditions; one to intercept Colonel Beaufort, who was approaching with a Virginia regiment to the aid of Charleston; a second toward Augusta, and the third toward Camden. He also issued a proclamation, threatening terrible punishments on those who would not submit. This was soon after followed by another, which offered pardon to all those who would return to their allegiance, and assist in restoring the royal authority.

When Beaufort heard of the loss of Charleston he commenced to retreat; but there was no escaping Tarleton, who made a forced march of one hundred

and five miles in fifty-four hours. He surprised Beaufort at Waxhaw, on the boundary of North Carolina, and scattered his men, giving them no quarter, but treating them in the most cruel and barbarous manner. This act has left a stain upon his reputation.

The other detachments passed through the country, meeting with no resistance, as the people felt it would be useless to attack them. In a short time another proclamation was issued, calling upon all, except those actually taken in arms, to renounce their parole, and take the oath of allegiance. During this time, the negroes in great numbers deserted their masters and fled to the British. South Carolina thus conquered, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis to hold the country in subjection.

Incidents show the spirit of the times. The Rev. James Caldwell, a Presbyterian clergyman, was pastor of a church at Elizabethtown. He had excited the ire of the Tories and British by his ardent appeals in the cause of his country. When he preached he would lay his pistols beside him: his eloquence stirred the people, with whom his popularity was unbounded. His church, a sort of rallying point, had been used by the American soldiers as a shelter, while its bell gave the alarm when the enemy approached. The Tories called him a "frantic priest," and "rebel firebrand;" but the people spoke of him as "a rousing gospel preacher." During the winter a marauding company of the British and Tories from New York burned the church, and Caldwell removed his family to Connecticut Farms.

After Knyphausen heard of the capture of Charleston, thinking that event would have an influence upon the people of Jersey, he set out on an expedition, landing at Elizabethtown, and penetrated as far as Connecticut Farms. He met, at every step, with the



most determined opposition; but, nevertheless, the village was sacked and burned. Mrs. Caldwell, in the midst of the terror and confusion, retired to a room in the rear of the parsonage, and knelt in prayer, having by the hand one of her children. Presently some one fired through the window, and she fell dead, pierced by two balls. The church and parsonage were both burned. Knyphausen, harassed by the militia, made an inglorious retreat.

Meantime, the atrocious murder of Mrs. Caldwell roused a spirit of revenge, unprecedented in its influence. She was highly connected and universally beloved; the murder was thought to have been designed. Caldwell preached more "rousing" sermons than ever. Three weeks after, Washington moved some of his forces toward the Highlands, and Knyphausen once more landed in Jersey, and pushed on toward Springfield, hoping to gain the passes beyond Morristown; but alarm-guns spread the news of his approach, and General Greene, who had been left in command, was on the alert. Knyphausen found as much opposition as on the other occasion. The Jersey regiment, commanded by Dayton, and of which Caldwell was chaplain, was engaged in the battle. The soldiers were in want of wadding, and the chaplain galloped to the Presbyterian church and brought a quantity of Watts' psalm and hymn books and distributed them for the purpose among the soldiers. "Now," cried he, "put Watts into them, boys!"<sup>1</sup> The Americans increasing, Knyphausen, after burning the village of Springfield, effected another inglorious retreat.

The Baron De Kalb was sent, soon after the surrender of Lincoln, to take command of the army in the South, and all the Continental troops south of Pennsylvania were detached for that service. In the

<sup>1</sup>Washington Irving

midst of these discouragements, Lafayette returned from his visit to France. He brought intelligence that a French fleet, with an army on board, had sailed to America, and also there might be expected soon a supply of arms and clothing from the same source.

The several States were now urged to send forward their quotas of men and provisions, to enable the army to co-operate with the French. In the camp there was almost a famine; a Connecticut regiment was on the point of marching home, where they could obtain provisions. Congress was laboring to borrow money in Holland in order to supply these wants.

A French fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, and also frigates and transports, at length appeared at Newport. This was the first division, consisting of six thousand land troops. To avoid disputes that might arise from military etiquette, Count Rochambeau, their commander, was instructed to put himself under the command of Washington. The expected supplies of arms and clothing did not arrive, and for the want of them, the American army could not co-operate in an attack upon New York.

The French fleet was followed by one from England, of equal strength, and now Clinton, trusting to his superior naval force, made preparations to attack the French at Newport; but as he and Admiral Arbuthnot could not agree as to the plan, the project was abandoned. The British, instead, blockaded the French. News came, not long after, that the second division designed for the United States was blockaded at Brest by another British squadron. Thus, for the third time, the Americans were disappointed in their hopes of aid from the French fleet, and instead, the militia of New England was called out to defend it at Newport.

In the South was the quietness that reigns in a conquered country; but the unsubdued spirits of the

patriots was soon aroused by their partisan leaders,—Sumter, Clarke, Pickens and Francis Marion, the latter a Huguenot by descent, and who had served against the Cherokees at the close of the French war. These leaders, with their bands, generally horsemen, scoured the country, and improved every opportunity to make a dash at parties of British or Tories. At first they were almost destitute of arms; these their ingenuity partially supplied by converting scythes and knives fastened to poles into lances; wood saws into broadswords, while the women cheerfully gave their pewter dishes to be melted into bullets; from nitre found in caverns in the mountains, and charcoal burned upon their hearths, they made their powder. So effectually did they conduct this irregular warfare, that ere long foraging parties of the enemy dared not venture far from the main army. If these patriots were repulsed in one place, they would suddenly appear in another, as vigorous as ever. While Sumter—characterized by Cornwallis as the South Carolina “Game Cock”—with his band, was on the Catawba, Marion—known as the “Swamp Fox”—was issuing, “with his ragged followers,” from the swamps along the Lower Peedee.

Congress now resolved to send General Gates to take command of the southern army. Great expectations were raised when it was known that the conqueror of Burgoyne was about to assume the command. But General Charles Lee remarked, “That his northern laurels would soon be turned to southern willows.”

De Kalb, with the regiments under his command, retarded by want of provisions, moved slowly south. His soldiers could only by great exertion obtain their necessary supplies in the barren region through which they passed. Because of this want, he was forced to halt three weeks on Deep River, one of the

upper tributaries of Cape Fear River; there Gates overtook him, and assumed the command. Contrary to the advice of De Kalb and his officers, who recommended a circuitous route through the fertile and friendly county of Mecklenburg, Gates immediately gave orders to march direct on Camden. He said the wagons coming from the north, and laden with provisions, would overtake them in two days. They marched through a region of pine barrens interspersed with swamps, and almost destitute of inhabitants. Their only food was green corn, unripe apples and peaches, and such lean wild cattle as chance threw in their way. The wagons never overtook them, but disease did, and the suffering soldiers were greatly enfeebled. After a toilsome march of nearly three weeks, he encamped at Clermont, about twelve miles from Camden. His army had increased almost daily, principally from North Carolina and Virginia, and now numbered nearly four thousand, of whom two-thirds were Continentals.

Lord Rawdon, when he heard of the approach of Gates, retreated and concentrated his forces at Camden, at which place Cornwallis had just arrived from Charleston to take command.

Gates made a move the following night to take a position nearer Camden, and Cornwallis made a similar move to surprise Gates. The advance guards met in the woods; after some skirmishing, both armies halted till morning. With the dawn, the battle commenced. The British rushed on with fixed bayonets against the centre of the American army, where the militia were posted; they fled immediately, throwing down their arms lest they should be encumbered in their headlong flight. Gates himself and Governor Caswell were both carried off the field by the torrent of fugitives. The Continentals stood their ground firmly, until their brave commander, De

Kalb, who had received eleven wounds, fell exhausted—then they also gave way.

The American army was completely routed, scattered in small parties, and in all directions. Their loss, in slain and prisoners, was nearly eighteen hundred, besides all their baggage and artillery. The road was strewn with the dead and the wounded, the work of the British cavalry, which the impetuous Tarleton urged on in pursuit of the fugitives for twenty-eight miles.

Certain of victory, Gates imprudently made no arrangements for a retreat, or the preservation of his stores, but instead, he met with the most disastrous defeat ever experienced by an American army. Truly, his northern laurels had degenerated into southern willows! A few days after the battle, he arrived with about two hundred followers at Charlotte, in North Carolina.

De Kalb was found by the British on the field still alive; his aide-de-camp, De Buysson, would not leave him, but generously suffered himself to be taken prisoner. The Baron lingered for a few days. His last moments were employed in dictating a letter to the officers and men of his division, expressing for them his warmest affection.

Some days before the late battle, Sumter fell upon a convoy of supplies approaching Camden for the British, and took two hundred prisoners. When Cornwallis heard of it, he sent Tarleton in pursuit, who rode so hard that half his men and horses broke down. When he arrived on the Catawba, Sumter had reason think himself beyond pursuit, and halted to refresh his men, when he was completely taken by surprise, his company routed, and his prisoners rescued. Thus, within three months, two American armies had been defeated and scattered in every direction.



Gates continued to retreat toward the North, having now about a thousand men. Maryland and Virginia made great exertions to recruit the army, but with little success.

Cornwallis, instead of conciliating the people by clemency, excited them to intense hostility by cruelty. Of the prisoners taken at Sumter's defeat, there were some who had given their parole not to engage in the war; a portion of these were hanged upon the spot. There was more revenge and hatred exhibited in the South by the Whigs and Tories against each other, than in any other section of the States. The severity of Cornwallis, however, did not deter the patriots from action. Marion was still in the field, and the untiring Sumter soon collected another force, with which he harassed the enemy.

Washington wished to strike a decisive blow, and he invited Rochambeau, who was commanding the French troops at Newport, to meet him at Hartford, to devise a plan of attack upon New York. After consultation, it was found that the French naval force was insufficient to cope with the British fleet at New York. Accordingly, the French Admiral on the West India station was invited to co-operate; and, until he could be heard from, the enterprise was postponed.

While Washington was thus absent from headquarters, a nefarious plot, which had been in train for some months, came to light. One of the bravest officers of the American army was about to tarnish his fair name as a patriot, and bring upon it the scorn and contempt of all honorable men. It was discovered that Arnold had promised to betray into the hands of the enemy the important fortress of West Point. The wounds he had received at the battle of Behmus' Heights had unfitted him for active service, and he was placed in command at Phila-

delphia. There he lived in a very extravagant style; involved himself in debts, to pay which he engaged in privateering and mercantile speculations, most of which were unsuccessful. He was accused of using the public funds, and condemned by a court-martial to receive a reprimand from the Commander-in-chief, who performed the unpleasant duty as delicately as possible. Yet Arnold felt the disgrace, and determined to be revenged. While in Philadelphia he married into a Tory family, which opened a way to an intercourse with British officers. His merits as an officer were great, but Congress evidently took into consideration his private character. The members from Connecticut knew him well. He was proverbially dishonest in his dealings, disregarded the rights of others, indifferent as to what men thought of his integrity, and to those under him cruel and tyrannical. In consequence of these inexcusable faults many distrusted him. The question has been raised, Why did Washington trust Arnold? Evidently, because he knew him only as an efficient and brave officer. It is not probable any person took the liberty of whispering to the Commander-in-chief the defects of Arnold's private character. We know that during his whole life, Washington was governed by the principle of appointing to office none but honest men.

In the midst of his troubles, Arnold's selfishness became superior to his patriotism, and he opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, under the signature of Gustavus. For months this continued, when he made himself known. In the meantime, he applied to Washington and obtained the command of West Point, with the full intention of betraying that important post.

In the British army was a young man of pleasing address; accomplished in mental acquirements, and

as amiable as he was brave. Disappointed in love, he had joined the army and made fame the object of his ambition; as capable of planning the amusements for a ball or a masquerade as of fulfilling the duties of his office—that of adjutant-general. He won many friends, and with Sir Henry Clinton was a special favorite. It devolved upon this young man, Major John Andre, to answer the letters of “Gustavus.” This he did under the feigned name of “John Anderson.” When Arnold revealed his true character, Andre volunteered to go up the Hudson on board the sloop-of-war *Vulture*, to have an interview with him, and make the final arrangements for carrying out the treachery.

The *Vulture* came to anchor a short distance below the American lines. Thence a flag was sent to Arnold, giving him the information. In the evening the latter sent a boat to bring Andre ashore. The night passed, however, before their plans were arranged, and Andre was compelled, though very unwillingly, to pass the next day within the American lines. During the day the *Vulture* attracted the attention of some American gunners, who began to fire upon her, and she dropped down the stream. For some unexplained reason, the man who had brought Andre ashore refused to take him back to the sloop, and he was forced to return to New York by land. He changed his uniform for a citizen's dress, and with a pass from Arnold, under the name of John Anderson, set out. Passing to the east side of the river, he traveled on unmolested until he came in the vicinity of Tarrytown. There he was arrested by three young men, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart. They asked him some questions, and he, supposing them Tories, did not produce his pass, but said he was “from below,” meaning New York, and that he was a British officer,

travelling on important business. When he found his mistake, he offered them his watch, his purse, and any amount of money, if they would let him pass. Their patriotism was not to be seduced. Paulding declared that if he would give ten thousand guineas he should not stir a step. In searching his person, they found in his boots papers of a suspicious character. They brought him to Colonel Jamison, the commanding officer on the lines at Peekskill. He recognized the handwriting as that of Arnold. The paper contained a description of West Point, and an account of its garrison. But he could not believe that his superior officer was guilty of treason, and had it not been for the protests of Major Talmadge, the second in command, he would have sent the prisoner to Arnold; as it was, he sent him a letter giving an account of the arrest, and of the papers found upon his person. The papers he sent by express to Washington, now on his way from Hartford.

The letter came to Arnold while he was breakfasting with some officers, who had just returned from that place. Concealing his emotions, he rose from the table, called his wife out of the room, briefly told her he was a ruined man and must flee for his life. She fell insensible at his feet. He directed the messenger to attend to her, returned to the breakfast-room, excused himself on the plea that he must hasten to the fort to receive the commander-in-chief. Then seizing the messenger's horse, which stood ready saddled, he rode with all speed to the river, sprang into his boat, and ordered the men to row to the Vulture. Thence he wrote to Washington, begging him to protect his wife, who, he protested, was innocent of any participation in what he had done.

When Andre heard that Arnold was safe, he wrote to Washington, confessing the whole affair. He was

immediately brought to trial under the charge of being within the American lines, as a spy. Though cautioned to say nothing to incriminate himself, he confessed the whole, and on his own confession he was found guilty. The commission to try him was presided over by General Greene. Lafayette and Steuben were also members of it. Andre protested that he had been induced to enter the American lines by the misrepresentations of Arnold. Clinton made every effort to save his favorite. The amiableness of Andre's private character enlisted much sympathy in his behalf. And Washington wished, if possible, to spare him; but a higher duty forbid it. Inexorable martial law denied him his last request, that he might be shot as a soldier, and not hanged as a spy.

Cornwallis at length commenced his march toward North Carolina. His army was in three divisions; one of which, under Colonel Patrick Ferguson, was to move to the west near the mountains, to intimidate the Whigs, and enroll the numerous Tories said to be in that region. The cavalry, and a portion of the light troops, under Tarleton, were to move up the Catawba, while the main body, under Cornwallis himself, was to take the route by way of Charlotte, Salisbury, and Hillsborough, through the region in which the Whigs were very numerous. This was with the expectation of forming a juncture with troops sent to the lower Chesapeake from New York. As soon as the British army began its march, the Whigs sprang into activity, and harassed them; scarcely did an express sent from any division of the army escape being shot or taken. Cornwallis declared Charlotte "the hornet's nest of North Carolina."

Ferguson, the son of a Scotch judge of eminence, had entered the army from the love of military life, had seen service in Germany, and was deemed by Cornwallis an excellent officer. He excelled in the



use of the rifle, and in training others to the use of that weapon. He was generous and humane; in any enterprise persevering and cool. Over his company of light-infantry regulars he had control, and restrained them from deeds of violence, but he was joined by a rabble of desperadoes and rancorous Tories. As they passed through the country, these Tories committed outrages upon the inhabitants. He met with scarcely any opposition. But information of these outrages and of his approach had spread rapidly throughout the region. Little did Ferguson think that at this time, when he neither saw nor heard of an enemy—for all his expresses were cut off—that from the distant hills and valleys of the Clinch and the Holston, and from the eastern spurs of the mountains, companies of mounted backwoodsmen—their only baggage a knapsack and blanket, their only weapon a rifle—were passing silently through the forests to a place of rendezvous in his front. The most formidable of these were from Tennessee and Kentucky, under Colonels Sevier and Shelby,—afterward first governors of those States.

Rumors stole into his camp that these half-farmers and graziers and half-hunters were assembling; but he scouted the idea that they could oppose him; though, when he received more correct information, he began to retreat as rapidly as possible. He had not been long on his way when this motley host, three thousand strong, came together. They held a council; they were not to be baffled; about nine hundred mounted their fleetest horses and started in pursuit. They rode for thirty-six hours, part of the time through a drenching rain, dismounting but once. Ferguson was astonished at their perseverance. He pushed for a strong position on King's Mountain, near the Catawba. This mountain rises almost like a cone; its top was sparsely covered with tall forest

trees, while at the base they were more dense. On the level space on the top he arranged his men, saying, with an oath, that the "rebels" could not drive him from his position.

The backwoodsmen approached, reconnoitred, held a council, then dismounted to attack the enemy in three divisions—in front, and on the right and left flanks. The battle soon commenced, the Americans crept up the sides of the mountain, and with deliberate aim poured in their deadly bullets. Ferguson, on a white charger, rode round and round the crest of the hill, and cheered his men. No impression was made on the assailants. He ordered the regulars to charge bayonet, and they drove the left division down the side of the mountain—for the backwoodsmen had no bayonets. Presently the regulars were taken in flank, and they retreated to the top, where, by this time, the second division had clambered up. This they drove back also; but before the regulars, now almost exhausted, could regain their position, the third division was on the plain. Thus it was, as often as a division retired before the bayonet, another gave relief. Ferguson passed from point to point, and cheered and rallied his men; but suddenly his white charger was seen dashing down the mountain-side without a rider: he had fallen by a rifle-ball. The animating spirit was gone; the British and Tories grounded their arms and surrendered at discretion. Three hundred had been killed or wounded, and more than eight hundred were made prisoners. The backwoodsmen lost but twenty slain and a somewhat larger number wounded. Ten of the Tories, who had been especially cruel toward their countrymen, were hanged upon the spot.

The backwoodsmen disbanded and returned home; their victory had revived the drooping spirits of the southern patriots. The battle of King's Mountain

bore the same relation to Cornwallis, that the battle of Bennington did to Burgoyne; and both were won by the undisciplined yeomanry.

When Cornwallis heard of the defeat of Ferguson he retreated from Salisbury to Winnsborough, in South Carolina. In one portion of the country Marion appeared, but Tarleton forced him to retreat to the swamps. Then the active Sumter appeared in force again, and repulsed a detachment sent against him. Tarleton went in pursuit, but Sumter learned of his approach, and began to retreat rapidly, while Tarleton pressed on with his usual vigor. Sumter chose an advantageous position; Tarleton attacked him, but was repulsed, and in turn forced to retreat. Sumter was severely wounded; he was compelled to retire for some months; his band, in the meantime, separated.

Gates now advanced South to Charlotte. Here he was overtaken by Greene, who, on the suggestion of Washington, had been appointed by Congress to the command of the southern army. Congress had also ordered an inquiry into the conduct of Gates.

Greene found the remnants of the army in a miserable condition, without pay, without necessaries, and their clothes in rags. To increase the army, divisions were sent from the North. Morgan with a regiment, Lee's body of horse, and some companies of artillery, were with Gates when Greene arrived.

During this time, a civil war, almost savage in its character, was raging all over the Carolinas. Little parties of Whigs and Tories fought with each other whenever they met; they ravaged each other's neighborhoods, and plundered the people of their furniture, and even of their clothes.

The year was about to end, with the British power triumphant in the three southern States. In Georgia the royal government was re-established, while the

important points held in the Carolinas gave the enemy almost the entire control of those States. The numerous Tories were exultant, while the whole country was nearly exhausted by the long continuance of the war.

During the summer of this year, it was thought England would find abundant employment for her armies and navy nearer home. Because she had the power, by means of a vast navy, she assumed the right to board the ships of any neutral nation, and to search for merchandise contraband of war—a practice as arbitrary and arrogant as it was unjust and injurious. Queen Catharine, of Russia, would submit no longer to the imposition. She proposed to enter into a combination, known as the “Armed Neutrality,” with Denmark and Sweden, to enforce the policy that “Free ships make free goods.” That, in time of war, ships of neutral nations could carry merchandise without liability to seizure by the belligerent powers. The British ministry hesitated to enlist the whole maritime world against their commerce, that was already suffering much. Holland gave indications that she was willing, not only to join the “armed neutrality,” but to enter into a commercial treaty with the United States. This intention became known by the capture of a correspondence on the subject. The vessel on board of which Henry Laurens, the American Minister to Holland, had sailed, was captured by an English frigate. Laurens threw the papers overboard, but an English sailor leaped into the water and recovered them.

Laurens was descended from one of the many Huguenot families that sought an asylum in South Carolina; nor did he belie the nobleness of his ancestry. He was taken to England and confined a close prisoner in the Tower of London, on a charge of high treason, plied with inducements to desert his

country's cause, but without avail. He stood firm, and was finally liberated, to proceed to Paris, there to aid in negotiating a treaty with England herself, on behalf of his country, which had fought its way to independence.

The British ministry demanded that this correspondence should be disavowed, but the States-General, with their usual coolness, gave an evasive answer. England declared war immediately, and her fleet exhibited its thirst for plunder by entering at once on a foray against the commerce of Holland throughout the world.

England now had reason to be alarmed at surrounding dangers. Spain joined France, and their combined fleets far outnumbered hers in the West Indies. Holland declared war against her, while nearer home there was danger. Eighty thousand Irishmen had volunteered to repel a threatened invasion from France; but now these volunteers, with arms in their hands, were clamoring against the oppression that England exercised over their industry and commerce, and threatened to follow the example of the American colonies in not using British manufactures; and, what was still more ominous, demanded that the Irish Parliament should be independent of English control. The whole world was affected by these struggles. Spain sent her ships to prey upon English commerce, and an army to besiege the English garrison at Gibraltar. France had armies against her in America and in India—both aiding rebellious subjects. To meet these overwhelming powers, England put forth gigantic efforts. We must admire the indomitable spirit, that steady energy, with which she repelled her enemies, and held the world at bay.



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

1871

### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED

The Spirit of Revolt Among the Soldiers—Arnold Ravages the Shores of the Chesapeake—Battle of the Cowpens—Morgan Retreats; Cornwallis Pursues—Greene Marches South—Lee Scatters the Tories—Battle of Guilford Court House—Conflict at Hobkirk's Hill—The Execution of Hayne—Battle of Eutaw Springs—Plans to Capture New York—Wayne's Daring at the James River—National Finances—Robert Morris—French and American Armies on the Hudson—Clinton Deceived—Combined Armies Beyond the Delaware—French Fleet in the Chesapeake—Cornwallis in the Toils—The Attack; Surrender of the British Army and Navy—Thanksgivings.

The last year of the struggle for Independence opened, as had all the others, with exhibitions of distress among the soldiers. The regiments of the Pennsylvania line, encamped for the winter near Morristown, grew impatient at the indifference of Congress to their necessities. In truth, that body was more or less distracted by factions, and made no special efforts to relieve the wants of the soldiers. Thirteen hundred of these men, indignant at such neglect, broke out in open revolt, and under the command of their sergeants, marched off toward Philadelphia, to lay their complaints before Congress.

General Wayne, to prevent their pillaging, sent after them provisions; he himself soon followed, and urged them to return to their duty. The sergeants, at his instance, proposed to send a deputation to Congress, and to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but the soldiers refused to entertain the proposition, and persisted in going themselves. Though thus mutinous, they scorned the thought of turning "Arnolds,"

as they expressed it, but promptly arrested as spies two Tory emissaries sent by Sir Henry Clinton to tamper with their fidelity. These emissaries were soon after hanged. Wayne in his zeal placed himself before the mutineers and cocked his pistols. In an instant their bayonets were at his breast. They besought him not to fire, saying: "We love, we respect you, but you are a dead man if you fire. Do not mistake us; we are not going to the enemy; were they now to come out you would see us fight under your orders with as much resolution and alacrity as ever."

Intelligence of this revolt excited great alarm in Philadelphia. Congress sent a committee, which was accompanied by Reed, the President of Pennsylvania, to meet the insurgents and induce them to return to their duty. The committee proposed to relieve their present wants, to give them certificates for the remainder of their pay, and to indemnify them for the loss they had sustained by the depreciation of the continental money. Permission was also given to those who had served three years to withdraw from the army. On these conditions the soldiers returned to the ranks. When offered a reward for delivering up the British emissaries sent to corrupt them, they refused it, saying: "We ask no reward for doing our duty to our country."

The discontent spread. Three weeks after this affair, the New Jersey line also revolted; but that was suppressed by a strong hand in a few days. So throughout the country; not, however, without a much discontent in the army spread consternation salutary effect. The patriots were awakened to make greater exertions to provide for the necessities of the soldiers. Their self-denials, labors, and sufferings had been too long overlooked.

Urgent demands were now sent to all the States.

especially those of New England, to furnish the army with the proper necessities. To encourage enlistments, some of the States promised to provide for the families of the soldiers, and Congress endeavored to obtain a foreign loan.

Arnold, as the reward of his treachery, received fifty thousand dollars, and the commission of brigadier-general in the British army. Lost to shame, he put forth a "Proclamation to the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army." He contrasted their privations and want of pay with the comforts and full pay of the British soldiers, and offered every man who should desert to the royal cause, fifteen dollars as a bounty, and full pay thereafter. The "proclamation" had no other effect than to increase the detestation in which the soldiers held the traitor.

Clinton sent Arnold with sixteen hundred men, British and Tories, to ravage the coasts of Virginia. Thomas Jefferson, who was then governor, called out the militia to defend Richmond; but only about two hundred men could be raised, and with great difficulty most of the public stores were removed. After Arnold had taken possession of the town, he proposed to spare it, if permitted to bring up the ships and load them with the tobacco found in the place. Jefferson promptly rejected the proposition. Arnold destroyed a great amount of private property, burned the public buildings, and some private dwellings. He then dropped down the river, landing occasionally to burn and destroy.

Baron Steuben, who was at this time in Virginia enlisting soldiers for Greene's army, had not an adequate force to repel the invaders. Washington sent to his aid Lafayette, with twelve hundred men, principally from New England and Jersey. They hoped to capture Arnold. On the same errand, two French ships of war contrived to enter the Chesapeake.

Soon after, the whole French fleet, with troops on board, sailed from Newport for the same place. A British fleet followed from New York, and an indecisive engagement took place between them off the entrance to the bay. The French fleet, worsted in the fight, returned to Newport, while the British entered the bay and reinforced Arnold with two thousand men, under General Phillips, who had recently been exchanged for General Lincoln. Phillips assumed the command, much to the satisfaction of the British officers, who disliked to serve under the traitor.

Thus, for the fourth time, the French fleet failed to co-operate with the American land-forces; in consequence of which Lafayette was compelled to halt on his way at Annapolis.

Phillips, having now a superior force, sent detachments up the rivers and ravaged their shores. One of the vessels sailed up the Potomac as far as Mount Vernon. The manager of the estate saved the houses from being burned by furnishing supplies. Washington reproved him in a letter, saying, he "would prefer the buildings should be burned, than to save them by the pernicious practice of furnishing supplies to the enemy."

Cornwallis, who was at Winnsborough, detached Tarleton, with about a thousand troops, cavalry and light-infantry, to cut off Morgan's division, which was in the region between the Broad and Catawba rivers. When Morgan heard of Tarleton's approach, he retired toward the Broad River, intending to cross it. Tarleton pursued with his usual rapidity. Morgan saw that he must be overtaken; he halted, refreshed his men, and prepared for the conflict. He chose his ground at a place known as "The Cowpens," about thirty miles west of King's Mountain, and thus named because herds of cattle were pas-

tured in that portion of the Thickety mountains. The armies were about equal in numbers. More than half of Morgan's were North and South Carolina militia, under Colonel Pickens. Morgan disposed his men to the best advantage; the Continentals on a woody hill, and the militia in a line by themselves. He was deficient in cavalry, but placed what he had under Colonel Washington, as a reserve. The British and Tories, though fatigued by their last night's march, were confident of victory; they rushed on with shouts. The militia stood their ground, delivered their fire, but quailing before the bayonet, they broke and fled. In pursuing the fugitives, the enemy almost passed by the Continentals, who, to avoid being taken in flank, fell back in order. This movement the British mistook for a retreat, and they commenced a vigorous pursuit, but when they approached within thirty yards, the Continentals suddenly wheeled, poured in a deadly volley, then charged bayonet, completely routed them, and captured their colors and cannon. Meantime the British cavalry, under Tarleton himself, continued the pursuit of the militia. While thus rushing on in confusion, the American cavalry attacked them in flank, and routed them also. These two repulses occurred almost at the same time, but in different parts of the field. The enemy were routed beyond recovery, and the Americans pursued them vigorously. The fiery Tarleton, accompanied by a few followers, barely escaped capture. Of his eleven hundred men he lost six hundred, while Morgan's loss was less than eighty.

When Cornwallis, who was only twenty-five miles distant, heard of Tarleton's defeat, he at once determined upon his course. He thought that Morgan, encumbered with prisoners and spoils, would linger for some time near the scene of his victory. He



therefore destroyed his baggage, converted his entire army into light troops, and with all his force set out in pursuit. His object was two-fold; to rescue the prisoners, and crush Morgan before he could cross the Catawba and unite his force with that of General Greene.

Morgan was too watchful to be thus caught. He knew Cornwallis would pursue him, and he left his wounded under a flag of truce, and hurried on to the Catawba, and crossed over. Two hours had scarcely elapsed before the British vanguard appeared on the opposite bank. A sudden rise in the river detained Cornwallis two days; in the meantime Morgan sent off his prisoners, and refreshed his men.

When Greene heard of Morgan's victory, he put his troops in motion, and two days after the passage of the Catawba joined him and assumed the command. He was not yet able to meet the enemy, and the retreat was continued toward the Yadkin, the upper course of the Peedee. His encumbered army could move but slowly; just as his rear-guard was embarking on the river, the British van came up. A skirmish ensued, in which the Americans lost a few baggage wagons. To-morrow, thought Cornwallis, I shall secure the prize; and he halted for the night to rest his weary soldiers. The rain had poured in torrents, and in the morning the river was so much swollen, that his army could not ford it, and Greene had secured all the boats on the other side. The latter, though here joined by other divisions, dared not risk a battle with his unrelenting pursuers. He called out the militia in the neighborhood to check the enemy at the fords, and hurried on to cross the river into Virginia, whence alone he could receive recruits and supplies. General Morgan, on account of illness, now withdrew from the army, and

Greene left Colonel Otho H. Williams, with some light-armed troops, to keep the pursuers in check.

As soon as possible Cornwallis crossed the Yadkin; if the Americans could get beyond the Dan they would be safe, and he strained every nerve to cut them off. He supposed they could not cross at the lower ferries for want of boats, and that they must go higher up the stream, where it could be forded. With this impression he pushed for the upper fords, and Colonel Williams kept up his delusion by maneuvering before him in that direction. But the judicious Greene, anticipating the movement, had taken measures to collect boats at the lower ferries, and sent forward Kosciusko to throw up breastworks to defend them. He now urged on his weary soldiers, at the rate of thirty miles a day, reached the ferries, and carried over his main body, and the baggage. Meanwhile, when they had sufficiently retarded the pursuers, by breaking down bridges and carrying off provisions, the light-troops, as if for the night, kindled their camp-fires in sight of the foe; then dashed off, and by a rapid march of forty miles, reached the ferries and passed over. In a few hours the van of the British appeared on the opposite bank. Cornwallis, in his movement toward the upper fords, had gone twenty-five miles out of his way. After a chase of more than two hundred miles, the object of his pursuit lay in sight, but the waters between could not be forded, nor could boats be obtained. As the two armies rested in sight of each other, how different were their emotions! The one overflowing with gratitude, the other chafed with disappointment.

The half-clad Americans had toiled for nearly four weeks over roads partially frozen, through drenching rains, without tents at night; multitudes were without shoes, and in this instance, as in many others

during the war, their way could be tracked in bloody foot-prints. Twice had the waters, through which they had safely passed, risen and become impassable to their pursuers, and again a river swollen by recent rains lay between them. Was it strange that those who were accustomed to notice the workings of Providence, believed that He who orders all things, had specially interposed His arm for the salvation of the patriots?

After resting his soldiers—who, if they were compelled to march rapidly, were comfortably clad—Cornwallis commenced to move slowly back. He and his officers were greatly mortified at their want of success; they had made great sacrifices in destroying their private stores, that when thus freed from encumbrances, they could overtake the Americans and completely disperse them. A few days later, he took post at Hillsborough, whence he issued another of his famous proclamations.

General Greene refreshed his troops, of whom he wrote to Washington, that they were “in good spirits, notwithstanding their sufferings and excessive fatigue.” He then repassed the Dan, and boldly marched in pursuit, to encourage the Whigs of the Carolinas, and prevent the Tories from rising.

It was rumored that Tarleton was enlisting and organizing great numbers of Tories in the district between the Haw and Deep rivers. General Greene sent Colonels Lee and Pickens, with their cavalry, against him. On their way they met three or four hundred mounted Tories, who mistook their men for Tarleton’s, and came riding up, shouting “Long live the king!” It was for them a sad mistake. The Americans made no reply, but surrounded them, and without mercy cut them to pieces. Another exhibition of that deadly rancor that prevailed in the South between the Whigs and the royalists. This

check taught the Tories caution, and materially diminished their enlistments. Many others, on their way to the British camp, when they heard of this conflict, returned to their homes.

Cornwallis, almost destitute of supplies, changed his position, and moved further South. Greene cautiously followed, not daring, from very weakness, to risk an engagement with the enemy's veterans, except when they were in small parties. As for himself, he was so watchful against surprise, that he never remained more than one day in the same place, and never communicated to any one beforehand where he expected to encamp.

Fresh troops, in the meantime, were gradually joining him from Virginia and Maryland, and when his force amounted to four thousand, he left his baggage seventeen miles in the rear, and approached the enemy to give them battle. It was in the vicinity of Guilford Court House. He drew his army up in two lines; the militia, in whom he had little confidence, as they were apt to give way at the first charge, he placed behind a fence, and stationed sentries in the rear, with orders to shoot the first man who should run. The battle was fought in a region covered with thick woods, with cleared fields interspersed. The North Carolina militia could not withstand the shock of the British charge, but threw down their arms and fled. The Virginia militia, under Colonel Stevens, stood their ground, and for a time kept up a destructive fire: but they too were compelled to yield to the bayonet. Now the enemy pressed on in pursuit, but presently Colonel Washington charged them with his horse and drove them back. Then again the British artillery opened upon the American pursuers, and they in turn were checked. Greene depended much on his Continentals, but one of the newly-raised Maryland regiments gave way



before a battalion led by Colonel Stewart. The battalion was presently checked by Colonel Washington's cavalry, and the brave Stewart was himself slain. It was impossible to retrieve what the North Carolina militia had lost, and Greene ordered a retreat, which he conducted with his usual skill.

Though Greene retreated from the field, Cornwallis was unable to pursue. More than a thousand of the militia deserted and returned home, and Greene's army was soon as weak as ever. This has been thought one of the severest battles of the whole war. "The wounded of both armies lay scattered over a wide space. There were no houses nor tents to receive them. The night that followed the battle was dark and tempestuous; horrid shrieks resounded through the woods; many expired before morning. Such is war!"

Cornwallis's army was so broken by this battle, and weakened by desertions and sickness, that it numbered but about fourteen hundred men. He was compelled to abandon his position, and fall back to Wilmington, near the seaboard. After recruiting his men, Greene boldly marched into South Carolina, and advanced rapidly upon Camden, where Lord Rawdon with a small force held command. That central position was connected, on the one hand, with Charleston, and on the other with the strong forts of Ninety-Six and Augusta. Between these important points, there were several smaller posts. Lee and Marion were sent, with their cavalry, to attack some of these. Greene himself advanced within two miles of the British lines, and encamped at Hobkirk's Hill, near a swamp which covered his left. Rawdon thought to surprise the Americans, made a circuit of the swamp, and came suddenly upon the camp; but the surprise was only partial. Greene promptly formed his line. In moving along a nar-



row passage, the British were exposed to a severe fire, and the American infantry were about to attack them in flank, while the horse, under Colonel Washington, moved to charge them in the rear. Rawdon brought up his reserve to counteract this movement. A regiment of Continentals, in the American centre, and upon whom Greene depended very much, unexpectedly gave way, and thus threw the army into confusion, and a retreat was ordered.

The loss on each side was nearly equal; the Americans, however, brought off their cannon and checked the pursuit. In the meanwhile several fortified places belonging to the British fell into the hands of Lee and Marion, thus breaking up the communication between Charleston and the interior.

Rawdon abandoned Camden, and retreated to Monk's Corner, in the vicinity of Charleston.

Greene marched against the strong post of Ninety-Six, but after besieging it for some time, he heard that Rawdon had been reinforced, and was then hastening to relieve it. After making a vigorous attempt to take the place by assault, he raised the siege and retreated across the Saluda. The heat had now become excessive, and both armies retired from active operations: the American on the hills of the Santee, and the British on the Congaree. The British had lost in the space of seven months the greater part of South Carolina, and were now restricted to the region between the Santee and the Lower Savannah. The partisan warfare continued, although the main armies were at rest.

The British resolved to execute as traitors those who had given their parole not to engage in the war or had received a protection, if they should be taken prisoners with arms in their hands. A distinguished citizen of Charleston, Colonel Isaac Hayne, had been taken prisoner at the capture of

that city, but owing to family afflictions—a sick and dying wife and helpless children—he gave his parole to remain neutral, and was promised protection. In violation of this pledge, he was soon after ordered to take up arms against his countrymen. He refused; but instead deemed himself justified in again joining the American army.

He was again taken prisoner, and now condemned to die as a traitor. The inhabitants of Charleston, Whig and Tory, petitioned for his pardon, yet Rawdon refused, and Hayne was hanged. His execution was looked upon as contrary to military rule, cruel and unjust. In the minds of the Whigs the bitterest animosity was excited. Greene threatened to retaliate. The American soldiers were with difficulty restrained from putting to death the British officers whom they took prisoners.

When the heat of the weather somewhat abated, Greene moved from the hills up the Wateree to Camden, and then across the Congaree and down it to the vicinity of Eutaw Springs. The British, now under Colonel Stuart, retired before him; but the Americans surprised a large foraging party and took a number of prisoners. The remainder escaped and joined their main force, which immediately drew up in order of battle. Though the attack was made with great ardor, the enemy withstood it with determined bravery. The contest raged most fiercely around the artillery, which changed hands several times. The British left at length gave way, and the Americans pursued, but presently the fugitives took possession of a large stone house, surrounded by a picketed garden. From this place they could not be immediately dislodged. A British battalion, which had successfully resisted a charge of the Americans, suddenly appeared at the rear of the assailants. The

latter, disconcerted by this movement, and thrown into confusion, began to retreat.

The force of each army was about two thousand. The loss of the British was seven hundred, and that of the Americans about five hundred.

The victory was claimed by both parties, but the advantage was certainly on the side of the Americans. Colonel Stuart, the British commander, thought it prudent to fall back to the vicinity of Charleston. Greene retired again to the hills of Santee to refresh his men, who were wretchedly off for necessaries, being barefooted and half-clad, out of hospital stores, and nearly out of ammunition.

Greene's military talents had been severely tested during this campaign; he was as successful in attacking as he was in avoiding his enemies. In no instance was he really equal to them in force and equipments; but he never fought a battle that did not result more to his advantage than to that of the enemy. Their very victories were to them as injurious as ordinary defeats. It is not strange that he was the favorite officer of the Commander-in-chief.

While these events were in progress in the South, a series of important operations were also in train in the North. There were two objects, one of which might be attained: New York might be taken, as its garrison had been much weakened by sending detachments to the South; or Cornwallis might be captured in Virginia. But neither of these could be accomplished without the aid of a French army as well as a fleet. While the matter was under consideration, a frigate arrived from France bringing the Count De Barras, who was to command the French fleet at Newport, and also the cheering news that twenty ships of the line, under the Count de Grasse, with land forces on board, were shortly to sail for the West Indies, and that a portion of this fleet and

forces might be expected on the coast of the United States in the course of a few months. Washington and the Count de Rochambeau had an interview at Weathersfield, Connecticut, to devise a plan of operations. They determined to make an attack upon New York. The French army was soon to be put in motion to form a junction with the American on the Hudson, and a frigate was despatched to inform the Count de Grasse of the plan, and to invite his co-operation.

Clinton, suspecting the designs against New York, became alarmed, and ordered Cornwallis, who was at Williamsburg, Virginia, to send him a reinforcement of troops. To comply with this order, the latter marched toward Portsmouth. Lafayette and Steuben cautiously followed. Their men numbered about four thousand; the army of Cornwallis was much more numerous and better appointed. Lafayette intended to attack the rear-guard of the British when the main body had passed James River. Cornwallis suspected the design, and laid his plans to entrap the Marquis. He sent over a portion of his troops with the pack-horses, and so arranged them as to make a great display; then threw in the way of the Americans a negro and a dragoon, who pretended to be deserters, and they announced that the main body of the British army had passed the river. Lafayette immediately detached Wayne with a body of riflemen and dragoons to commence the attack, while he himself should advance to his support.

Wayne moved forward, forced a picket, which designedly gave way, but presently he found himself close upon the main body of the enemy. In a moment he saw that he had been deceived. Wayne's daring nature decided his course: he at once ordered a charge to be sounded; his men, horse and foot, caught his spirit, and with shouts, as if sure of vic-

tory, they dashed against the enemy with great impetuosity, gallantly continued the fight for a short time, and then as rapidly retreated. The ruse succeeded admirably. Cornwallis, astounded at the boldness and vigor of the attack, hesitated to pursue, thinking the movement was designed to lead him into an ambuscade. This delay enabled Lafayette to extricate himself from his dangerous position.

Cornwallis now crossed the river, but while the detachment designed for New York was embarking, a second communication was received from Clinton. He now announced the arrival of reinforcements of Hessians from Europe, and also directed Cornwallis to retain all his force, and choose some central position in Virginia, and there fortify himself. In accordance with this command, the latter chose the towns of Gloucester and Yorktown, situated opposite each other on York River. Here, with an army of eight thousand effective men, he threw up strong intrenchments, and also moored in the harbor a number of frigates and other vessels of war.

The financial affairs of the country continued in a deplorable condition. Congress hoped to remedy the evil by appointing a single superintendent of finance, instead of the committee to whom it had hitherto been intrusted. Robert Morris, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, received the appointment. He accepted the office only on the express condition, that all transactions should be in specie value. The results vindicated the wisdom of the choice; the genius in furnishing the "sinews of war" was as efficient as that displayed by others in the field. At his instance Congress established the Bank of North America, with a capital of two millions of dollars, and to continue in force for ten years. The bank was pledged to redeem its notes in specie on presentation.



This feature of the institution at once secured the confidence of the public, and the wealthy invested in it their funds. Operating by means of the bank, Morris raised the credit of Congress higher than it ever stood before; and he was also enabled, in a great measure, to furnish supplies for the army and pay for the soldiers. Whenever public means failed he pledged his own credit.

Washington, on his return from the interview with Rochambeau, addressed letters to the authorities of New Jersey and New England, urging them in this emergency to furnish provisions and their quotas of men. But they were dilatory and unable to comply, and he had but five thousand effective men at Peekskill, and they would have been destitute of provisions, had it not been for the energy of Morris.

The French army had remained inactive eleven months at Newport; it now moved to join Washington in the Highlands. Information was received from the Count de Grasse that he would shortly sail with a large fleet for the United States. Washington and Rochambeau hastened their preparations to co-operate with him upon his arrival in the proposed attack on New York. An intercepted letter gave Clinton the knowledge of these movements, and he was soon on the alert to defend the city. The British posts on Manhattan Island were reconnoitered by the Americans, the combined armies were encamped at Dobbs' Ferry and on the Greenburg hills, waiting for reinforcements and the Count de Grasse. Presently came a frigate from the Count to Newport with the intelligence that he intended to sail for the Chesapeake. This information disconcerted all their plans; now they must direct their forces against Cornwallis. To accomplish this effectively Clinton must be deceived and Cornwallis kept in ignorance. To "misguide and bewilder" Sir Henry, a space for a

large encampment was marked out in New Jersey, near Staten Island; boats were collected; ovens were built as if preparing for the sustenance of a large army; pioneers were sent to clear the roads toward King's Bridge, and pains were taken to keep the American soldiers ignorant of their own destination.

General Lincoln was sent with the first division of the army across the Jerseys; he was followed by the French. Wagons were in company to carry the packs of the soldiers, to enable them to move with more rapidity. Washington sent orders to Lafayette, who was yet in Virginia, to take a position to prevent Cornwallis retreating to North Carolina; to retain Wayne with his Pennsylvanians, and to communicate with General Greene. He also wrote to the Count de Grasse, who would soon be in the Chesapeake.

Thus were the plans skilfully laid by which the contest was brought to a happy issue. When the Northern soldiers arrived in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and found that they were really going against Cornwallis, they manifested some discontent in prospect of the long southern march in the month of August. At this critical moment, John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, President of Congress, arrived from France, whither he had been sent to obtain aid; he brought with him a large supply of clothing, ammunition, and arms; and what was just then very much wanted, half a million of dollars. By means of this, and with the aid of Morris, the soldiers received a portion of their pay in cash. Their good humor was restored, and they cheerfully marched on.

De Barras, who commanded the French fleet at Newport, suddenly put to sea. Clinton at once divined the object was to unite, in the Chesapeake, with another French fleet from the West Indies; and he

sent Admiral Graves to prevent the junction. The admiral was astonished to find De Grasse, with twenty-five sail of the line, anchored within the Capes. De Grasse ran out to sea, as if to give the British battle, but really to divert their attention until De Barras could enter the Bay. For five days the hostile fleets maneuvered and skirmished. Meanwhile De Barras appeared and passed within the Capes, and immediately De Grasse followed. Graves now returned to New York.

Until the main body of the combined armies was beyond the Delaware, Clinton supposed the movement was a ruse to draw him out to fight in the open fields. Cornwallis himself was as much deceived; thinking he would have Lafayette only to contend with, he wrote to Clinton that he could spare him twelve hundred men to aid in defending New York. Not until he was fairly in the toils, when the French fleet had anchored within the Capes, did he apprehend his danger.

Thinking that perhaps a portion of the American army might be sent back to defend New England, Clinton sent Arnold with a force, composed principally of Tories and Hessians, on a marauding expedition into Connecticut. But Washington was not to be diverted from his high purpose. While he and De Rochambeau are pushing on toward the head of the Chesapeake, let us turn aside to speak of this maraud, which closes the career of the traitor in his own country.

New London was the first to be plundered and burned, and there Arnold destroyed an immense amount of property. Fort Griswold, commanded by Colonel William Ledyard—brother of the celebrated traveler—was situated on the opposite shore of the river. This was assaulted, and after an obstinate resistance, in which the British lost two hundred men

and their two highest officers, it was carried. When the enemy entered, the Americans laid down their arms, but the massacre continued. Major Bromzeld, a New Jersey Tory, by the death of the two higher officers, became the leader of the assailants. Tradition tells that when he entered the fort he inquired who commanded, and that Colonel Ledyard came forward, saying, "I did, sir; but you do now;" at the same time handing him his sword; that Bromfield took the sword and plunged it into Ledyard's breast. This was the signal for indiscriminate slaughter, and more than sixty of the yeomanry of Connecticut were massacred in cold blood. The militia began to collect in great numbers from the neighboring towns. Arnold dared not meet his enraged countrymen, and he hastily re-embarked. These outrages were committed almost in sight of his birthplace. Thus closed "a career of ambition without virtue, of glory terminated with crime, and of depravity ending in infamy and ruin."

The combined armies arrived at Elkton, where they found transports sent by Lafayette and De Grasse to convey them to the scene of action. Previously De Grasse had landed three thousand troops under the Marquis St. Simon, to unite with the forces under Lafayette, Steuben, and Wayne.

As had been anticipated, Cornwallis endeavored to force his way to the Carolinas, but the youthful marquis, whom some months before he had characterized as a "boy," was on the alert. He then sent off expresses with urgent appeals to Clinton to send him aid. In the meantime he was indefatigable in strengthening his fortifications.

The combined forces, French and American, were about twelve thousand, besides the Virginia militia called out by Governor Nelson, who, as the State treasury was empty, pledged his own property as



security to obtain a loan of money to defray the expenses. The Governor was a resident of Yorktown, and when the cannonade was about to commence, he was asked where the attack would be most effective: "He pointed to a large, handsome house on a rising ground as the probable headquarters of the enemy. It proved to be his own."

The plan of operations were speedily arranged, and the allies began to press the siege with great vigor. Their lines were within six hundred yards of the enemy's works, which they completely surrounded. General Washington himself put the match to the first gun. The heavy ordnance brought by De Barras was soon thundering at the fortifications. The British outworks were very strong, and beyond these were thrown up redoubts to hinder the approach of the assailants. The cannonade continued for four days; the enemy's outworks were greatly damaged and guns dismounted, while a forty-four gun ship and other vessels were burned by means of red-hot shot thrown by the French. Cornwallis withdrew his men from the outworks, but the redoubts remained. Two of these were to be stormed; one assigned to the French, the other to the Americans. The assault was made about eight o'clock in the evening. The Americans, under Alexander Hamilton, were the first to enter; they scrambled over the parapet without regard to order, and carried the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The French captured theirs, but according to rule, and they suffered more than the Americans in their headlong attack. The emulation exhibited by both parties was generous and noble. From these captured redoubts a hundred heavy cannon poured in an incessant storm of balls. Cornwallis, as he saw his works one by one crumbling to pieces, his guns disabled, his ammunition failing, determined to make a desperate sally and



check the besiegers. The British soldiers, a little before daybreak, suddenly rushed out, and carried two batteries, but scarcely had they obtained possession of them, before the French in turn furiously charged, and drove them back to their own intrenchments. But one avenue of escape was left;—they must cross the river to Gloucester, cut a way through the opposing force, and by forced marches reach New York. Cornwallis resolved to abandon his sick and wounded and baggage, and make the desperate attempt. Boats were collected, and in the night a portion of the troops crossed over; the second division was embarking, when suddenly the sky was overcast, and a storm of wind and rain arrested the movement. It was now daylight. The first division with difficulty recrossed to Yorktown, as on the river they were subjected to the fire of the American batteries. Despairing of assistance from Clinton, and unwilling to risk the effect of an assault upon his shattered works, or to wantonly throw away the lives of his soldiers, he sent to Washington an offer to surrender. The terms were arranged, and on the 19th of October, in the presence of thousands of patriots assembled from the neighboring country, Cornwallis surrendered seven thousand men as prisoners of war to Washington, as commander-in-chief of the combined army, and the shipping, seamen, and naval stores to the Count de Grasse.

At Charleston, when Lincoln capitulated, the Americans were not permitted to march out with their colors flying, as had been granted to Burgoyne, but with their colors cased. It was thought proper to deny them the courtesy granted at Saratoga, and the British soldiers were directed to march out with their colors cased; and Lincoln was deputed by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis.

Washington sent one of his aids to carry the joy-

ful news to the Congress at Philadelphia. He reached the city at midnight. Soon the old State-house bell, that five years before signalized to the people that the Declaration of Independence was made, now awoke the slumbering city to hear the watchmen cry, "Cornwallis is taken! Cornwallis is taken!" The inhabitants by thousands rushed into the streets to congratulate each other. Congress met the next morning and proceeded in a body to a church, and there publicly offered thanks to Almighty God for the special favor. He had manifested to their struggling country, then issued a proclamation appointing a day for national thanksgiving and prayer, "in acknowledgment of the signal interposition of Divine Providence." Throughout the whole land arose the voice of thanksgiving from the families of the patriots, from the pulpits, from the army. Never did a nation rejoice more. The clouds of uncertainty and doubt were dispelled; the patriots were exultant in the prospect of peace and of the established freedom of their country. Their intelligence enabled them to appreciate the blessings for which they had so long struggled.

If the battle of Bunker Hill, or the evacuation of Boston, had led to a reconciliation with the mother country, how different had been their feelings. Then an affection, a reverence for England would have lingered, only to retard the progress of the Colonists—at best but half-forgiven rebels—and hold them subordinate to her, not so much in political dependence as formerly, but sufficient to stifle that sentiment of nationality, so essential to the proper development of their character and of the resources of the country.

We have seen how long it took illiberal laws, enforced in a tyrannical manner, to alienate their affections. It now required a seven years' struggle of

war, outrage and suffering, dangers and privations, to induce a pervading national sentiment, rouse the energies of the people. give them confidence, and lead them to sympathize with each other.

Congress voted thanks to Washington, to the Counts De Rochambeau and De Grasse, and to the army generally. Eulogies were showered upon the Commander-in-chief;—the spontaneous outpourings of a grateful people, who, during the darkest hours of the contest, had in him unbounded confidence.

Yorktown was now a name to be honored even beyond those of Bunker Hill and Saratoga. How much was involved in that surrender! The long struggle was virtually ended. It had been a contest not for power, not for aggrandizement, but for a great truth and principle, which had been overshadowed by authority and pressed down by arbitrary rule. Said Lafayette to Napoleon, when he sneered at the smallness of the armies engaged in the American Revolution: "It was the grandest of causes, won by the skirmishes of sentinels and outposts." It is true that the number who fell on the battlefields was comparatively small. The names of but few of these have come down to us; they were written only on the hearts of friends and relatives who mourned their loss. Scarcely was there a family but had a precious record; the cherished memory of some one who had thus sacrificed his life.

Note.—The number of soldiers furnished by each State to the Continental army, during the war, may be seen by the following table:

Massachusetts .....	67,907	North Carolina .....	7,263
Connecticut .....	31,939	South Carolina.....	6,417
Virginia .....	26,678	Rhode Island .....	5,908
Pennsylvania .....	25,678	Georgia .....	2,679
New York.....	17,781	Delaware .....	2,386
Maryland .....	13,912		
New Hampshire .....	12,497		
New Jersey .....	10,726		
			<hr/> 231,791

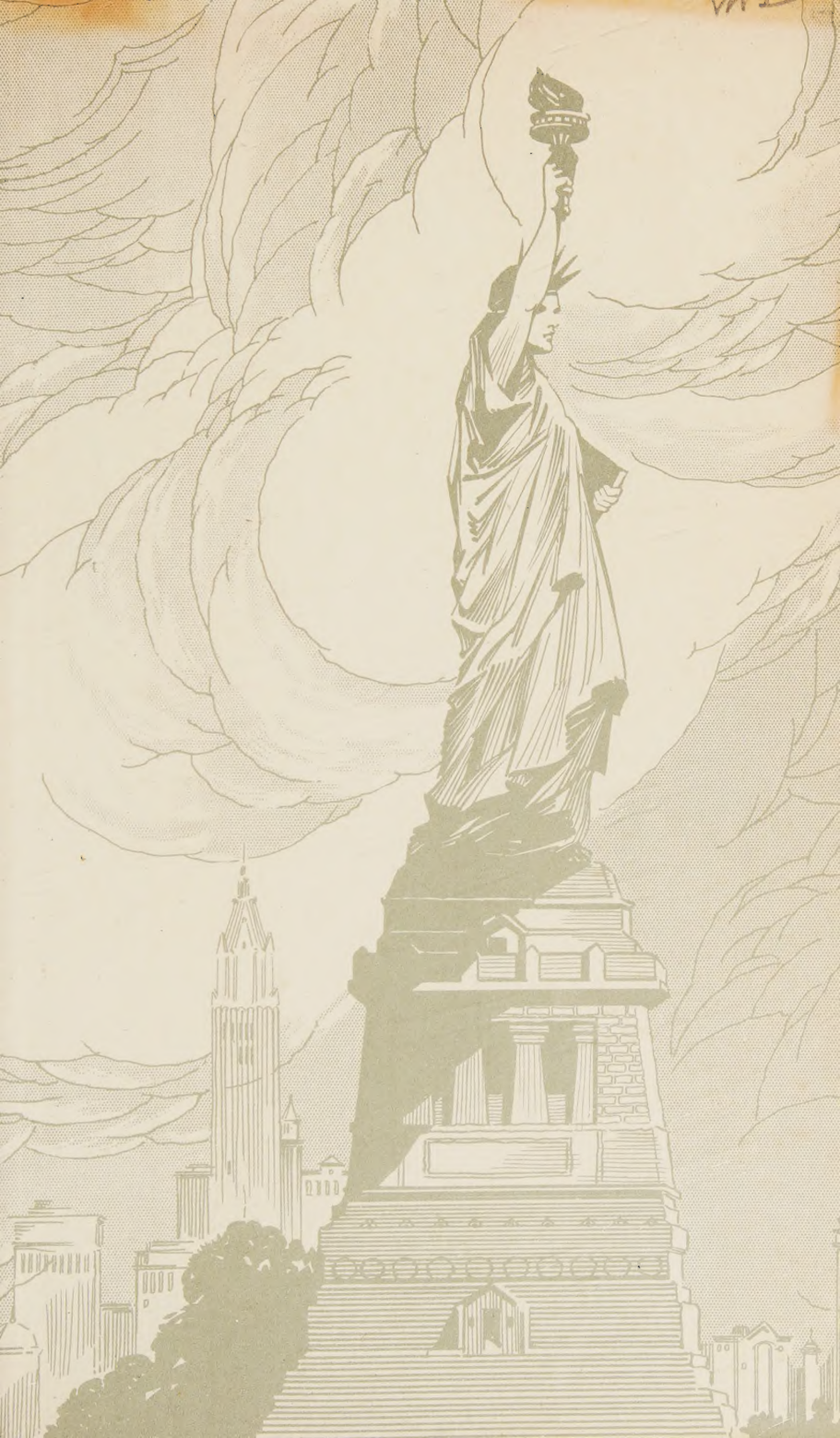
















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